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DELPHINE UGALDE: DEFYING GENDER NORMS BOTH ON AND
OFF THE STAGE IN 19TH CENTURY PARIS

by

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ABSTRACT

The social and professional networks that grew out of Paris' vibrant theatrical and salon culture in the late 19th century supported a number of female artists in somewhat "non-traditional" roles. While the careers and influence of artists such as the sculptor H  l  ne Bertaux and singer-composer Pauline Viardot have been thoroughly researched in recent years, little attention has been paid to the life and work of the coloratura soprano, actor, pedagogue, and composer Delphine Ugalde. During her performing career, Ugalde was highly regarded for her ability to portray both male and female characters. After retiring from the stage, she engaged in many musical pursuits which were traditionally male-dominated such as composing and directing. Utilizing digitized historical records and archival materials obtained during a recent SPARC-supported trip to Paris, this study establishes a more complete biographical sketch of Ugalde's life, and shows how her choices on- and off-stage challenged accepted behavioral norms for women in late 19th-century France.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Figures	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: The Life and Work of Delphine Ugalde	9
Chapter 3: Delphine Ugalde’s “Atypical” Stage Career	25
Chapter 4: Reading the Compositions of Delphine Ugalde	39
Chapter 5: Conclusion	55
References	61
Appendix A: A Translation of Jules Clareties’s Obituary for Delphine Ugalde	67
Appendix B: A Partial Transcription of Ugalde’s Correspondence with Arthur Pougin .	80
Appendix C: DMA Recital Programs	81

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: <i>La Halte au Moulin</i> , Air de Magloire, mm. 33-46	44
Figure 4.2: <i>La Halte au Moulin</i> , Air de Madeline, mm. 38-56.....	47
Figure 4.3: <i>Seule</i> , No. 5 Duo Bouffe, mm. 91-93	48
Figure 4.4: “Pietà” mm. 1-8.....	52
Figure 4.5: “Pietà” mm. 67-74.....	52

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The social and professional networks that grew out of Paris' vibrant theatrical and salon culture in the late 19th century supported a number of female artists in somewhat “non-traditional” roles. While the careers and influence of artists such as the sculptor H  lene Bertaux and singer-composer Pauline Viardot have been thoroughly researched in recent years, little attention has been paid to the life and work of the coloratura soprano, actor, pedagogue, and composer Delphine Ugalde. Ugalde was involved in a number of artistic and musical circles in 19th century Paris, groups with connections to influential figures such as the operatic composer Jacques Offenbach. It is the aim of this research to closely consider the details of Ugalde's life, compositions, and working relationships within the artistic community of her time and to offer new insights into how female artists in this society expanded their pursuits into traditionally “male” domains.

According to critical reviews, Ugalde was well regarded in Paris as both a singer and a composer, and over the course of her career worked with notable opera composers and theater directors including Jacques Offenbach and L  on Carvalho. In one of her obituaries, the French musicologist Adolphe Julien primarily detailed her performing career, but he also discussed her pursuits as a composer and her tenure as the director of

the Bouffes-Parisiens, the comic opera company founded by Offenbach.¹ While it was not unusual for a recognized female singer in this period to have composed some music, few women seem to have embraced these other roles with the same determination as Ugalde. Pauline Viardot, for example, was recognized by her male contemporaries as having serious potential as a composer, but she did not express interest in making this a significant part of her identity as a musician.² Ugalde, on the other hand, actively worked toward having her works performed in mainstream, professional venues. While Parisian press did not always give Ugalde's compositions the same attention as her male contemporaries, the few reviews she received were very favorable.³

Ugalde's compositional output is modest but ambitious. It includes three stage works which were performed at professional venues in Paris under her own name, *Nicaise*, a stage work composed under a male pen-name⁴, and a set of 20 *melodies* which was premiered at the Salle Erard, a popular Parisian venue for song recitals, in 1878. Adolphe Julien makes note of her work on a full-scale operatic project, *Les Quatres fils d'Aymon*, which was never performed. Scores for two of her operatic projects, *La Halte au Moulin* and *Seule*, as well as most of her *mélodies* are archived in the Bibliothèque

¹ Julien, Adolphe. "Mme. Ugalde." *Journal Des Débats Politiques et Littéraires*. July 20, 1910. Translation by the Author.

² Kendall-Davies, Barbara. *Life and Work of Pauline Viardot Garcia. Volume I, The Years of Fame 1836-1863*. Second edition. Newcastle upon Tyne, [England]: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

³ Balleyguier, Delphin. "Un halte au moulin." *Le semaine musicale*. January 17, 1867. This review of Ugalde's first stage work takes some time to berate *Le Figaro* for choosing not to review the production. One other publication, *Le Menestrel*, gave the work a favorable review, but only as an afterthought after reviewing the Bouffes-Parisiens' revival of Offenbach's *Orphée aux enfers*. Translation by the author.

⁴ Pougin, Arthur. "Madame Ugalde." *Le Menestrel*. July 23, 1910. In this obituary Pougin makes note of a correspondence with Ugalde in which she discusses this work and reveals her pen name of "Delphin de Nesle." This is confirmed in Pierrefitte's 1895 *Histoire du Théâtre des Folies Marigny*. Translation by the author.

Nationale de France and elsewhere, but the scores for *Les Quatre fils d'Aymon*, her 1895 operette *Le Page de Stella*, and her operette *Nicaise* have not been discovered.

Related Literature

To date, no research into the artistic culture of late 19th-century Paris has focused on Delphine Ugalde and her contributions. At the time of Ugalde's death, multiple obituaries and tributes were published in the Parisian press by a number of music critics and musicologists, including Arthur Pougin, Adolphe Julien, Jules Claretie, and others, but none of these have been translated into English. And while these obituaries generally agree on the larger details of Ugalde's life and career, they differ in finer details. Julien makes mention of Ugalde's struggle with blindness at the end of her life⁵, Pougin discusses his correspondence with Ugalde and her use of a male pen-name for a few compositions⁶, and Claretie takes the time to publish letters to Ugalde from noted figures such as Charles Gounod and Pauline Viardot.⁷ The accounts do not fully agree on the exact scope of Ugalde's compositional output or discuss in detail her pursuits as an opera director.

Secondary research in the 20th century has been similarly incomplete. Karen Henson's research has examined the lives of a number of singers who flourished in the last decades of the 19th-century, including Celestine Galli-Marie and Sybil Sanderson.

⁵ Julien, Adolphe.

⁶ Pougin, Arthur. "Madame Ugalde." Portions of the correspondence mentioned in this obituary were found in the Pougin collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Translation by the Author.

⁷ Articles de presse sur Delphine Ugalde, artiste lyrique. Arts du spectacle, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The main focus of Henson's research has been to look at how singing careers changed in the latter half of the century, especially with the advent of sound recording.⁸ Barbara Kendall-Davies' overview of the life and work of Pauline Viardot-Garcia is fairly exhaustive; she has detailed most of Viardot's performing career and delved into her personal life, but there are few mentions of Delphine Ugalde, despite the fact that the two were colleagues at the Théâtre-Lyrique and maintained contact in the decades that followed.⁹ There are scattered references to Ugalde's singing, directorial, and compositional career throughout French-language histories of *opérette* and related performing establishments as well as a few English-language histories such as T.J. Walsh's *Second Empire Opera*, but these studies do not contextualize her work as a singer, director, pedagogue, and composer within contemporaneous salon and theater culture.

Heather Hadlock's feminist analysis of Jacques Offenbach's *Les Contes d'Hoffman* has offered new perspectives on the environment surrounding the late 19th Century Opéra-Comique. Her principal focus is to apply a critical lens to the representation of women as seen in Hoffman's three "loves," but in the process she offers a number of details on the history of the piece. Most significant to the current study is the role of Marguerite Ugalde, Delphine's daughter and voice student, as Nicklausse/The Muse in the premiere cast. Offenbach had originally intended for this part to be very

⁸ Henson, Karen. *Opera Acts: Singers and Performance in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge [u.a.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015.

⁹ Kendall-Davies, Barbara.

significant, but in early rehearsals for the piece, Marguerite had some difficulty with the music and the role was reduced.¹⁰

Lenard R. Berlanstein's work examines how issues of gender in French society played out on the stage in different eras.¹¹ His focus is primarily on spoken theater, but there are some mentions of the operatic stage and well-regarded singers such as Pauline Viardot. And while there are no references to the life and work of Delphine Ugalde, his discussion of how "strong" actresses were viewed in Parisian culture offers a frame for examining the reception of Ugalde's performances.

The analysis of French actress Sarah Bernhardt's life and career as found in Mary Louise Roberts' work is important when considering the larger impact of Delphine Ugalde's life. Roberts' discussion of Bernhardt's role in the French feminist movement during the *fin-de-siècle* includes Bernhardt's off-stage pursuits as a theatre director, her gender-bending theatrical performances, and her well-documented affairs with both men and women.¹² The potential connection between embracing male personas on-stage and engaging in "male" pursuits off-stage is one which both Ugalde and Bernhardt share. Bernhardt's portrayal of characters originally intended for male actors can be seen as more groundbreaking than Ugalde's portrayal of characters *en travesti*, as *travesti* roles on the operatic stage have a long history dating back to the mid-17th Century.¹³ For the

¹⁰ Hadlock, Heather. *Mad Loves: Women and Music in Offenbach's Les Contes d'Hoffmann*. Princeton Studies in Opera. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

¹¹ Berlanstein, Lenard R. *Daughters of Eve: A Cultural History of French Theater Women from the Old Regime to the Fin de Siècle*. New York: ACLS History E-Book Project, 2005.

¹² Roberts, Mary Louise. *Disruptive Acts*. The University of Chicago Press. Chicago: 2002.

¹³ Andre, Naomi. *Voicing Gender: Castrati, Travesti, and the Second Woman in Early-Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006. 103. Andre's examination of the history of the *travesti* role in Italian opera discusses the gradual changes in which male character types were

purposes of this paper, the two figures are being linked for the reason that both Bernhardt and Ugalde pursued stage direction and were regarded as powerful figures within Parisian artistic circles.

The available information on Ugalde's life hints at her contributions to the musical and artistic environment in 19th century France, but there are significant gaps in the historical and critical literature. The following chapters will assemble a consistent overview of Delphine Ugalde's life and career from varied French-language materials collected from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, and Ugalde's contributions to and influence on the mid-19th century Parisian cultural environment will be examined. Where appropriate, established gender studies literature as a critical lens will be utilized, as Ugalde's on- and off-stage career choices often defied the expected gender norms of the time.

Purpose, Structure, and Methodology

The purpose of this study is to shed much-needed light on a figure who, by most accounts, seems to have been a forerunner to women who, at the end of the 19th and early 20th century, were making strides in areas of music long dominated by men. Delphine Ugalde's stage career, viewed together with her off-stage ambitions, can be seen as challenging accepted notions of gender performance in French Society, and this helped to lay the groundwork for those who followed.

assigned to women, the "pageboy" being preferred by the 19th century. The use of *travesti* roles in French works had its differences and will be discussed later in this paper. (See footnote 66).

Chapter 2 will present a biographical sketch, bringing together details from the more significant obituaries printed at the time of Ugalde's death as well as other primary and manuscript sources collected from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. France underwent huge cultural and political shifts during the eight decades of Ugalde's life; she was born at the beginning of the 1830 July Monarchy and died during the Third Republic, only a few years before the beginning of World War I. When taking her musical heritage into account, one can see her career as connecting the 19th and 20th centuries. The assembled biography will bring together details about her life which have, until now, been scattered among disparate sources in multiple languages.

Chapter 3 examines the reception of Ugalde's stage performances in the Parisian press, focusing on the two of roles for which she was most remembered, Semet's *Gil Blas* and Massé's *Galathée*, as well as the character of Roland from Jacques Offenbach's *Les Bavards*. These roles exemplify the unique qualities of Ugalde's career on stage; two of the roles were male characters which received rave reviews from critics, and her earliest triumph in *Galathée* presents a female character who challenges accepted notions of "proper" behavior. The fact that these roles were fondly recalled decades later speaks to the enduring impact of these stage performances.

Delphine Ugalde's ambitions as a composer will be examined in Chapter 4. Her first two major compositions for the stage were written for herself, and as a result there are elements in these works which, in their musical and dramatic scope, show Ugalde's penchant for gender-bending. Along with the examples from her stage work, selections from her 1878 collection *Vingt Mélodies sur les sonnets d'Adrien Dézamy* will be discussed, showing Ugalde's approach to more "serious" topics. In the discussion of

these pieces, the work of Susan McClary and Sally MacArthur will be employed as a critical lens through which to view Ugalde's musical choices.

The conclusion will contextualize Ugalde's work within the various French Feminist movements of the 19th-century, and discuss possibilities for further research. The proposal will be made that Ugalde's on- and off-stage choices can be viewed as a performative speech-act that challenged the accepted norms for gender behavior in French Society.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE AND WORK OF DELPHINE UGALDE

The eight decades of Delphine Ugalde's life stretched from the first part of the 19th century through the beginning of the 20th, and she was involved in the musical and artistic culture of Europe throughout most of this time. This included two political revolutions in Paris, the rise of the feminist movement toward the end of the 19th century, and multiple musical, artistic, and theatrical developments. We see in her musical upbringing a connection to late 18th century practices, but by the end of her life she was discussing the Paris premiere of Richard Strauss's *Salome* with Arthur Pougin. It is a life story that can be seen as a bridge between centuries, art forms, and musical styles.

While her long-running career was widely acknowledged at the time of her death in 1910, there are discrepancies among her many obituaries, and many leave out details regarding her early life and family, her work as a director, and her compositional output. In piecing together a more detailed biographical sketch, I have chosen to look closely at three of the more detailed obituaries and supplement their respective content with a few mid-century biographical sketches as well as Ugalde's letters to the critic Arthur Pougin, the author of one of her obituaries.

Early Life and Training

Delphine Ugalde (née Beaucé) was born on December 3rd, 1829 into a musical family. Her grandfather was the guitarist Pierre-Jean Porro. Porro was also successful in Paris as a composer of sacred works, the author of a guitar method, and a music publisher. Her parents were both involved in music; her father as a music seller, and her mother as a pianist and music instructor.¹⁴ Ugalde was one of (at least) three siblings, all trained in music. Her sister, Mme. Steiner-Beaucé, had a singing and stage career that would take her to Italy and Brussels, but she died at age thirty-five.¹⁵ Ugalde's brother, Henry Beaucé, seems to have remained in France and collaborated with Ugalde on a number of projects throughout his lifetime.¹⁶

Shortly after Ugalde was born the family moved to a village near Montmorency for financial reasons.¹⁷ It was during this time that she received her first lessons on the piano from her mother; an 1855 article by Georges Bell offers a colorful account of this early training:

Delphine had scarcely emerged from the arms of her nurse, when Madame Beaucé, an excellent musician herself, and especially an excellent teacher, introduced her to the piano. But the child, whose independence of character was already revealed, would have rather enjoyed playing than

¹⁴ Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell, and Henry Gardiner Adams. *A Cyclopædia of Female Biography ... [A Revised Abridgement, with Additions, of "Woman's Record".]* Edited by H. G. Adams. Groombridge & Sons, 1857. 744.

¹⁵ *L'Abeille impériale : messenger des familles : revue du grand monde, des modes et de l'industrie*. Paris: [s.n.], 1862. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k62695604>. 8.

¹⁶ Biographical summaries for Henri Beaucé are unavailable, but he is listed as one of the performers of Ugalde's first stage work, and he published a few compositions throughout his lifetime. It is assumed by the author that, since Ugalde's mother has been noted as a music teacher in most biographies, her siblings received a similar early musical training.

¹⁷ Bell, Georges. "Delphine Ugalde." *La Sylphide*. Paris: April 30th, 1855

working. She mutinied against authority, and when Madame Beaucé would call her from outdoors to assign a task which was to be accomplished during her absence, Delphine first took her time for recreation, and did not begin to study until at the last moment. She had nevertheless such dispositions that she made rapid progress, and was able, from the age of seven, to face the odds of a public competition at the Hotel de Ville. She won a medal of honor.¹⁸

The fact that her mother was her first music teacher is made clear in numerous other press articles and obituaries, but the anecdote regarding Ugalde's attitude towards practice only appears in this one source. Regardless of its veracity, the notion that she was a natural talent which rebelled against the authority imposed upon her by her mother is not insignificant. The article later describes how her mother discovered her singing voice after hearing her cry out in pain.

Ugalde's public debut as a singer was in a performance for the Society of Classical Song, a salon at Salle Chanteraine hosted by the son of Marshal Ney, the Prince of Moscow.¹⁹ Most sources agree that she was eleven years old at this time, but the exact date of this event is unclear. Ugalde herself seems to have lost track of the details of her debut toward the end of her life; in one of her letters to Arthur Pougin written in the early 20th century, she asks him about the details of these concerts for her personal *memoires*.²⁰ Georges Bell notes that she shared the evening with three well-established singers, Lablache, Mario, and Mlle Grisi, and that following their performances, Ugalde

¹⁸Bell, Georges. Translation by the author.

¹⁹ "La Prince de Moskowa" was a title bestowed on Marshal Ney and his descendants by Napoleon; most 19th century French-language biographical sketches of Ugalde list only his title when discussing her debut, as 19th century French readers would have been familiar with this.

²⁰ Correspondance de Madame Ugalde. Collection Pougin. Bibliothèque National de France. 4-COL-114. Item #12.

performed with a “childlike voice that sounded so fresh and pure that the distinguished audience gave her a loud ovation.”²¹

In 1846, at age seventeen, she married a young musician with the last name of Ugalde,²² and subsequently went to Madrid and participated in a series of court concerts there.²³ Adolphe Julien notes that this marriage was a “mistake” that occurred prior to her theatrical debut; she retained his name throughout her career, and later her daughter Marguerite would take “Ugalde” as her last name, despite having a different father.²⁴ Aside from the fact that he was a musician and died in 1858, there is scant information regarding this first husband.

First Successes on Stage

After her public debut as a singer, Ugalde began training with a small amateur theater on the Tour d’Auvergne.²⁵ It was there that she was noticed by the Belgian composer Limnander. He recommended her to Adolphe Adam for the role of Beatrix in *Des Montenegrins* at the Opera-National du Boulevard Temple, but this production was disrupted by the February Revolution of 1848. It was not until July of 1848 that she was contracted by the Opera-Comique. She made her debut as Angèle in Auber’s *Le Domino Noir* that month to great success.

²¹ Bell, Georges.

²² Bell, Georges.

²³ Adams, H.G., Ed. *A Cyclopedia of Female Biography*. London: 1856. There is some discrepancy regarding Ugalde’s trip to Spain; Georges Bell’s article in *La Sylphide* states that this trip took place after the 1848 revolution.

²⁴ Julien, Adolphe.

²⁵ Julien, Adolphe.

Over the next four years, Ugalde enjoyed great success singing in productions at the Opéra Comique. She created numerous roles, including Virginie in Thomas' *Le Caïd* and Nerilha in Halévy's *La Fée aux roses*, and she was well regarded for her work as Marie in an 1848 production of *La Fille du Regiment*. But the role from these years which seems to have had the most lasting impression was the title role in Victor Massé's *Galathée* (1852).

In 1851 Ugalde travelled to London for a series of performances of Auber's *L'Enfant Prodigue* at Her Majesty's Theater. While this particular performance was not as well received, Ugalde seems to have had supporters in London. An English article from this time states:

It must not be supposed by those amateurs who have only heard Madame Ugalde in the disagreeable character of *Nefté* in Auber's 'Prodigue,' that they have any notion of the brilliant capabilities of this eminent *artiste*. She must be listened to in her own peculiar *répertoire* - that of French Opéra Comique - to appreciate her wonderful vocalisation. When she has become more habituated to the Italian language, to the size of the house, and to the largeness of the band, and is allotted a less repulsive character to sustain, Madam Ugalde's great powers will be developed in a manner to prove that her fame in Paris has not been at all exaggerated, and that she is one of the most accomplished vocalists of the age.²⁶

It is clear that by the time of the London performances, Ugalde's reputation as a singer had reached beyond Paris, and there was an expectation that she would rise to greater fame and status. Georges Bell states that she became highly sought after for new productions at the Opéra-Comique, as her involvement would guarantee success,²⁷ but this momentum was interrupted and she took a hiatus from public performances

²⁶ "Madame Ugalde." Articles sur Presse sur Madame Ugalde. Arts du Spectacle Archives, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 8-RO-5796.

²⁷ Bell, Georges.

sometime between 1853 and 1855. Adolphe Julien attributes this to a vocal injury,²⁸ while others have attributed this to a disagreement with the administration of the Opéra-Comique.²⁹ She made a much-heralded return to performing in 1855, when she engaged in a few concert appearances and joined the Theatre des Varieties production of Jules Crest's *Les Trois Sultanes* in the role of Roxanne.³⁰ This was followed by a brief return to the stage of the Opéra-Comique, but her second tenure there was not to last long.

Mid-Career: The Théâtre-Lyrique and Bouffes-Parisiens

In 1858, Ugalde joined the company of the Théâtre-Lyrique. There, under the direction of noted Parisian impresario Léon Carvalho, she saw performing success and growth in her professional network. A number of women who already were or would become prominent singers were her colleagues during this time, including Pauline Viardot-Garcia, Caroline Carvalho, and Marie Sasse, whom Ugalde discovered and taught.³¹ Her tenure at this theater would see her perform a number of roles to critical acclaim including Susanna in the French translation of Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* and Blondine in *Die Entführung aus Serail*. Her greatest triumph, however, was the title role in Semet's *Gil Blas*, a performance that would continue to be remembered by critics and historians to her dying day.³²

²⁸ Julien, Adolphe.

²⁹ Bell, Georges.

³⁰ Bell, Georges.

³¹ Walsh, T. J. *Second Empire Opera: The Théâtre Lyrique, Paris 1851-1870*. History of Opera. London : New York: J. Calder ; Riverrun Press, 1981. 89-110.

³² This role is mentioned in almost every obituary published at the time of Ugalde's death.

Adolphe Julien notes that if Ugalde had taken the role of Marguerite in the premiere of Gounod's *Faust*, she would have increased her reputation, but she passed this up to take the title role in Victor Massé's *La Fée Carabosse* out of some deference to the composer who gave her one of her earlier successes.³³ T. J. Walsh's history offers a different account of this situation; the two shows were to be played at the same time on alternate evenings, with Ugalde in *Faust* and Caroline Carvalho in *La Fée Carabosse*, but after rehearsals started, Ms. Carvalho demanded to be switched into the role of Marguerite.³⁴

In 1860, Ugalde also began making appearances in productions with the Bouffes-Parisiens, the comic opera company started by Jacques Offenbach. Her reputation as both a fine singer and an engaging actress made her ideally suited for Offenbach's work. She was highly acclaimed for her work as Euridice in revivals of *Orphée aux Enfers*, and she originated a number of memorable roles including the young con-man Roland in *Les Bavards*. She continued to take engagements with both the Opéra-Comique and the Bouffes-Parisiens as well as make regular salon appearances, but Adolphe Julien points to a "declining voice" as a possible explanation for her appearances in smaller roles at this time.

Around the same time that Delphine Ugalde joined the Bouffes-Parisiens, she married her second husband, François Varcollier, in a Montmorency church; a column in *Le Menestrel* mentions that Marie Sasse sang Léo Delibes "Ave Maria" at the

³³ Julien, Adolphe.

³⁴ Walsh, T. J. 96.

ceremony.³⁵ Their daughter, Marguerite, was born in 1862, and in 1866 Ugalde and Varcollier were named co-directors of the Bouffes-Parisiens. The marriage would not last long. In 1869 they filed for a separation against each other. A gossip column details their complaints:

. . .She reproached her husband for not working as any good husband should, for preferring to spend his life in the spa towns of Spà, Nice, and Monaco, gambling away all the money that she had earned, and overwhelming her, furthermore, with ill-treatment.

He replied that his wife refused to submit to his marital authority; that one day, in particular, when he was returning from his travels, she had thrown him out of his home. He claimed that the grievances alleged against him existed only in the fertile imagination of the eminent artist.

The court granted an equitable separation, and ordered that the young girl born of the marriage would remain placed at *Chez les Dames de la Trinité*, where her father and mother could see her during recreation hours.³⁶

Varcollier's claim that Ugalde invented her accusations echoes long-standing issues pertaining to the dismissal of women as "hysterical." It is interesting, however, that elements of this account are in line with George Bell's description of Ugalde's "independence of spirit." And the fact that the court granted an equitable separation could be seen as evidence that Varcollier's claims were treated with some skepticism.

Delphine Ugalde's focus during her first directorship of the Bouffes-Parisiens seems to have been in reviving works of Jacques Offenbach; she mounted a successful revival of *Orphée aux Enfers* in January of 1867 in which she again sang the role of Euridice. As part of this performance, she also premiered her first operatic composition,

³⁵ "Nouvelles Diverses." *Le Menestrel*. November 6, 1859.

³⁶ Dechamps, Théophile. "Paris à vol d'Oiseau." *L'Indépendance dramatique*. February 24, 1869.

the one-act Opera-Comique *La Halte au Moulin*. Ugalde starred in the piece, playing the role of Madeline, while her brother Henry Beaucé played the tenor role of the Chevalier. The performance was well received and was presented on occasion in the years following. But in regards to her administration of the Bouffes-Parisiens, Adolphe Julien refers to this first tenure as “turning bad almost immediately,”³⁷ and by the end of the decade Ugalde had moved on to other projects.

1870s-1880s: Delphine Ugalde as Teacher, Director, and Composer

Ugalde officially retired from the stage in the early 1870s, making only occasional appearances for charitable causes.³⁸ She re-focused her energies toward teaching, composing, and direction. In the spring of 1872 she was brought into the administration of the *Folies-Marigny*, the company which at that time occupied the “Chocolate box” theater on the Champs-Élysées which had been the original home of the Bouffes-Parisiens.³⁹ It was in this year that Ugalde saw more of her compositions for the stage performed: the operette *Nicaise* which she wrote under the pen name of Delphin de Nesle, and a short theatrical prologue titled *Folies-Marigny*.⁴⁰ She also composed and performed in a one-act, one-woman opera titled *Seule* which was performed sometime around 1872-73. While the score was published by A. O’Kelly in 1873, performance

³⁷ Julien, Adolphe.

³⁸ Julien, Adolphe.

³⁹ Some sources name her as the director of the *Folies-Marigny*, while the *Histoire du théâtre des Folies-Marigny* merely states that she was contracted by the company.

⁴⁰ Pierrefitte, P. _ L. de Auteur du texte. *Histoire du théâtre des Folies-Marigny (1848-1893) / P.-L. de Pierrefitte*. Paris: Tresse et Stock, 1893. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8502497>. 25-26

details for this production are unclear due to the work's use of a common single word as its title.⁴¹

By the mid-1870s, Ugalde seems to have been intent on pursuing composition. In 1878, she oversaw a performance of a collection of her *mélodies* at the Salle Erard. According to a review in *Le Constitutionnel*, the project was conceived after the Salon of 1875:

The author of the poems, M. Adrien Dézamy, is a young man who loves painting as much as verse. The 1875 Salon gave him the idea of dedicating a sonnet to each of the paintings. These sonnets were so successful that the Maison Goupil requested them for the annual painting exhibitions. It was during the 1875 and 1876 series that Mme Ugalde chose eighteen poems to set to music.

All the arts, in a way, have come together to make her concert as original and attractive as possible: painting, poetry, and music.⁴²

The eventual publication of these compositions would be dedicated to Pauline Viardot⁴³, who, after retiring from the stage, had turned her attention toward teaching and composition. The relationship between Viardot and Ugalde seems to have been warm and cordial; In an 1876 letter, Viardot kindly accepted the dedication for one of the songs:

My dear Madame Ugalde,

You cannot doubt the great pleasure with which I accept the dedication of your beautiful *mélodie l'Ange des douleurs*. My regret is that this was not inspired in the days when we were comrades. I would have been happy to rise to the heights of the painter, the poet, and the composer. I ask you to accept, with all my compliments, the expression of my gratitude and of my affection.

⁴¹ Ugalde, Delphine. *Seule*.

⁴² Hostein, Hippolyte. "Théâtres." *Le Constitutionnel*. February 25, 1878. Translation by the author.

⁴³ In addition to her critical acclaim throughout Europe in her capacity as a singer, Pauline Viardot was a prolific composer and teacher. Her life and work, including her many connections to famous writers and composers has been well-documented.

Pauline Viardot⁴⁴

A letter from Ugalde to Viardot from January 1878 discusses the dedication of the entire publication:

Dear Madame:

For the simple reason that it has not yet been printed, I cannot offer you today the collection of 20 *mélodies* which I announced to you.

Permit me, in the meantime, to give you the dedication you so kindly accepted.

I presented myself twice at your residence, (but) committing the awkwardness of arriving while you were in the middle of your work, I did not want my name passed on.

You would do me a great kindness to tell me when you are available.

All my best wishes, devotion, and grateful feelings,

de Ugalde⁴⁵

While there is a good deal of formality found in the correspondence between the two, Viardot's acceptance of the *mélodie* dedication in 1876 shows a definite regard for Ugalde's work as a composer, and the later letter seems to indicate that there was some ongoing correspondence between the two regarding this project.

The 1878 performance of Ugalde's *mélodies* also caught the attention of music critic Arthur Pougin; he was impressed with her compositions:

. . .she gave us a series of melodies on the verses of the young poet M. Adrien Dézamy, and this gathering, assembled at the very elegant Salle Erard, gave her a very real success. . .⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Claretie, Jules. "Une grande cantatrice d'hier." *Le Temps*. Paris: July 22, 1910. Translation by the author.

⁴⁵ Ugalde, Delphine Beaucé, Mme. Lettre(s). *Papiers de Pauline Viardot*. XIXe-XXe. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Translation by the author.

⁴⁶ Pougin, Arthur. *Le Guide Musicale*, 28 February, 1878. Translation by the author.

It is possible that this was the impetus for later correspondence between the two; they would correspond regularly up through the last years of Ugalde's life. But such warm reception for this project seems to have been somewhat short lived. While she would publish a handful of short stand-alone vocal compositions in the next decade, enduring success with these sorts of larger projects would elude her.

Ugalde's daughter, Marguerite, experienced some performing success in the early 1880s, but failed to gain the same level of regard as her mother. Adolphe Julien notes that Delphine had high hopes for her daughter's career, and most discussions of her work as a teacher list Marguerite and Marie Sass as Ugalde's most famous students. Marguerite was most notably cast as the Muse/Nicklausse in the premiere performance of Jacques Offenbach's *Les Contes d'Hoffman*, but she was unable to sing the part as Offenbach had originally envisioned it; Heather Hadlock has noted that two of her solo moments and a trio involving Coppélius and Hoffman were removed shortly into the rehearsal process.⁴⁷

From 1885-1888 Ugalde once again took direction of the Bouffes-Parisiens. Adolphe Julien regards this period as beginning with great success; she mounted the premieres of André Messager's *La Bernaise* and Victor Roger's *Josephine vendue par ses soeurs*, the latter of which ran for over two hundred performances.⁴⁸ But as time went on Ugalde had more failures than successes, and seems to have had a few administrative headaches. A 1892 legal judgement points to a 1886 contractual dispute

⁴⁷ Hadlock, Heather. 10.

⁴⁸ Julien, Adolphe.

with a young singer, Marie Burtry,⁴⁹ and there is evidence of a dispute with the author-composer Pauline Thys over a contracted performance of her operetta *La Loi jaune*.⁵⁰ The ongoing difficulties seem to have pushed Ugalde out of the directorship; Julien states that Ugalde would have secured a better legacy had she retired after the success of Roger's work.⁵¹

Ugalde's Last Years

During the last two decades of Ugalde's life, she continued to pursue composition and work on her *memoires*. These *memoires* are mentioned in Jules Claretie's obituary as well as in her correspondence with Arthur Pougin, but she never got to the point of publishing them. Her one large-scale compositional project, the full-length operetta *Le quatre fils d'Aymon*, never saw a performance. On the third of January, 1895, she saw one last short stage work performed, *La Page du Stella*, which was featured as part of a "gaulois" celebration at the Théâtre Bodinière. A few of her students were featured, but beyond a few short, favorable press mentions, the piece does not seem to have had any repeat performances.⁵²

The clearest view of Ugalde's life during her final years comes from her correspondence with Arthur Pougin and her reported interaction with Jules Claretie. In

⁴⁹ Ugalde, Delphine. Collection de manuscrits d'Auguste Rondel. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Item 6. Translation by the Author.

⁵⁰ Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques (France). *Annuaire de la Société des auteurs et compositeurs dramatiques*. Paris: 1889., p 639.

⁵¹ Julien, Adolphe.

⁵² Boisard, A. "Chronique Musicale." *Le Monde illustré*. January 19, 1895.

his obituary for her, Claretie writes that she entrusted him with many of her papers and letters:

A few years ago. . . she brought me a whole bunch of letters, souvenirs, the remains of her brilliant artistic life, and asked me to make known to the public that after a long and glorious career as a singer, musician, and theater director, [she finally wanted to retire, give a representation of retirement.]

‘Raise me,’ she said with a smile.

And she left me these testimonies of the successes of the past, these praises, these thanks, these attestations to the illustrious signatures, those yellowed notes with which she would have, if she had wished, been able to reconstitute her former existence, to write her Memoirs.⁵³

Claretie’s tribute to Ugalde is unique in this regard, in that he printed many letters which she had received from illustrious musical, artistic, and literary figures who had contact with her throughout her life and career.

Arthur Pougin’s papers show Ugalde’s focus in her final years; he preserved a series of twelve letters from her in his personal copy of Henry Lyonnet’s *Dictionnaire des comediens francais*. The earliest of these letters are formal and sociable. Later correspondence makes reference to her collection of memorabilia and the fact that he seems to have regularly asked her opinion of his writing.⁵⁴ Most significant is a mention of a project that the two were working on; one must assume this would have been a history of some sort:

So in the month of September I absolutely count, dear sir.
I had this moment a little hope for the placement of our child. Oblige me to get the manuscript I entrusted to you. It is feared that you do not have time to glance at it, even stealthily. I would have liked to know if you would prefer changes, or if the piece is viable.

If nothing ends under the present, we will resume our project at

⁵³ Claretie, Jules.

⁵⁴ Correspondance de Madame Ugalde. Collection Pougin. Bibliothèque National de France. 4-COL-114.

your first rest.

I thank you for all the good reasons you took the time to say
goodbye and that I am forced to understand without complaining seriously
about being so busy.

Whose fire, if not your merit?

So take some strength in this trip so eye-catching perspective and,
especially, come to us at the appointed time.

All my feelings of good friendship
from Ugalde⁵⁵

It seems that whatever this project was, it was never published. But the
correspondence continued; her letters from 1907 forward were written by a secretary,
confirming Adolphe Julien's mention that Ugalde struggled with blindness in her last
years.⁵⁶ Julien also notes that her income had fallen at this point and that she was reliant
on the support of a director.

Ugalde passed away on July 18th, 1910, survived by her daughter, Marguerite
Ugalde, and her granddaughter, Jeanne Ugalde. Her funeral was held at Trinity Church
in Paris, and she was buried at Montmartre Cemetery. She was remembered in numerous
press retrospectives during the following months, many of which placed her among a
gallery of famous stage personalities from the 19th century. Journalists fondly recalled
her performances, especially in the roles of Galathée and Gil-Blas, and she was
proclaimed one of the greatest performers of her generation.

The next chapters will examine Delphine Ugalde's stage career and compositional
projects in more detail, utilizing gender studies and feminist musical criticism as a critical
framework. The highlights of her performing career often involved portraying male

⁵⁵ Correspondance de Madame Ugalde. Collection Pougin. Bibliothèque National de France. 4-COL-114.
Item #6. Translation by the Author. The underlined words appear this way in the correspondence; it is
the only instance of this happening in the Pougin letters. One might assume from this that Ugalde felt the
project they were working on was fairly important and urgent.

⁵⁶ Julien, Adolphe.

characters on stage, and some of her female roles contained elements which challenged accepted notions of gender performance on stage. And because she wrote her first stage compositions mainly for herself, her forays into composition starting in the late 1860s show many of the same themes.

CHAPTER 3

DELPHINE UGALDE’S “ATYPICAL” STAGE CAREER

In numerous obituaries for Delphine Ugalde, she is regarded as one of the greatest singers of her generation. But the operatic roles for which she became known were decidedly not standard roles for an operatic prima donna of the 19th century. At the height of her career, she did not sing the “serious” roles that were sung by her colleagues Pauline Viardot, Caroline Carvalho, and Marie Sasse. During her years at the Théâtre-Lyrique she received positive press for the *buffa* roles of Susanna and Blondine in the French translations of Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, respectively. The lead role from those years which would cement her reputation as a performer was the title role in Semet’s *Gil Blas*, a travesti role. One has to look toward her early years at the Opéra-Comique to see performances that follow somewhat closer to what Catherine Clement describes as the “jewel. . . .the ornament indispensable for every festival” who “perpetually sings her own undoing,”⁵⁷ but even then Ugalde made her most lasting impression in Victor Massé’s *Galathée*, playing the titular statue which comes to life and eventually rebels against Pygmalion, her sculptor. If there is a common theme throughout Ugalde’s stage career, it is that it seems to have been atypical for a singer who reportedly “charmed and conquered Paris” with her singing.⁵⁸ What was it

⁵⁷ Clément, Catherine, Betsy Wing, and Susan McClary. *Opera, Or, The Undoing of Women*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988. 5.

⁵⁸ Julien, Adolphe.

about Ugalde's performances that so captivated audiences at the height of her career? Did an embrace of agency and convincing portrayal of "male" qualities on stage play a role in her success?

An additional dimension that warrants discussion when confronting these questions is that of "singer" versus "actor." The distinction is an important one; Georges Bell referred to Ugalde as "two times an artist - an actress and singer of the first order,"⁵⁹ and other accounts of her performances go beyond her vocal qualities. Adolphe Julien, whose account of her life presents a more balanced report of her singing, wrote:

Mme. Ugalde. . . .was not only endowed with a warm, colorful voice - with a rather vulgar tone, said her detractors, with a very stirring tone, said her supporters - but it was also that she brought to her singing as to her acting an expansiveness, a fiery spirit and a devilishness⁶⁰ and seemed to give herself up to the demon which shook her on the stage.⁶¹

That she was seen as skilled in both these capacities may have played a role in why Ugalde's stage performances were praised by Parisian audiences in the 19th century. In his discussion of the erotic culture of the 19th century French stages, Berlanstein writes:

The will to dominate men was just as troubling. Moreover, the wit and intelligence of certain actresses made them both admired and unwomanly within the sophisticated circles of the Boulevard. . . .The contradictions brought writers to explore and explain theater women as an intermediate gender, with a woman's tempting body and a man's sex drive.⁶²

This idea of an intermediate gender offers an interesting lens through which to view Ugalde's notable operatic roles. Her significant performances which were remembered

⁵⁹ Bell, Georges.

⁶⁰ The notion that an out-of-control woman might be possessed in some way by the devil or a demon has a long history; its ties to the French stage can be traced back to the beginning of French Opera with the depiction of Armide in Jean-Baptiste Lully's first opera.

⁶¹ Julien, Adolphe.

⁶² Berlanstein, Lenard R., 114-115.

with fondness forty and fifty years later all contained elements of domination, wit, and intelligence, and thus presented on onstage persona which was quite the opposite of the “helpless” prima donna.

Galathée (1852)

Victor Massé is primarily remembered for his one-act opera *Les noces de Jeannette*, but *Galathée*, his first full-length stage composition, was considered a great success when it premiered in 1852. A review in *Le Nouvelliste* stated:

The new work of MM. Victor Massé, Jules Barbier, and Michel Carré is one of the most beautiful things we have applauded. As great as our hopes were, they were exceeded; *Galathée* is a musical and literary gem. The Opéra-Comique has never given two more beautiful acts, a piece imbued with a more charming originality, filled with softer melodies, written with more taste, grace, liveliness, feeling, played with a spirit more sparkling, a more adorable verve, and a word, with a more dizzying perfection.⁶³

If the premiere performance of *Galathée* was a success for Massé, Barbier, and Carré, it was a triumph for a young Delphine Ugalde. Massé’s writing allowed her to display both her vocal virtuosity and the breadth of her acting. Over the course of the work, the character of Galathée sings a dramatic duet, a lyre song, and leads a drinking song which involves the entire principal cast. The review in *Le Nouvelliste* said of Ugalde’s work:

Mme Ugalde became the queen of the evening. Certainly, we have many times noted the successes of this marvelous singer. Mme Ugalde, with her admirable talent, her magnificent impulses, her genius artistic inspirations, has often made the most exaggerated praise seem feeble; but today, the impotence of praise, in the face of her merit, has never been better recognized. For Mme Ugalde, the role of Galathée is not simply a success, it is a triumph. This energetic and brilliant organization had rarely been revealed so brilliantly. Madame Ugalde has brought, in this

⁶³ Darthenay. “Théâtre de l’Opéra Comique.” *Le Nouvelliste*. April 16, 1852. Translation by the Author.

admirable role, a truly singular creative power. We would say that, for the indifferent public, it is a curiosity, if for the public artist, it was a marvel.⁶⁴

The work itself presents a host of interesting gender dynamics. The librettists Jules Barbier and Michel Carré, who would later collaborate on many well-regarded works, including the libretto for *Les Contes d'Hoffman*, authored a situation in which a young Pygmalion, due to a bad experience with love, has renounced all women and become obsessed with his statue of Galathée. Meanwhile, an old, rich merchant, Midas, conspires with Pygmalion's servant, Ganymede, to steal the statue. When Venus brings the statue to life, chaos ensues. Galathée wants nothing to do with the depressed and lovelorn Pygmalion, and instead finds the servant Ganymede charming. After various hijinks involving, among other things, Galathée beating Pygmalion and attempting to kidnap Ganymede, Pygmalion pleads with Venus to have Galathée turned back into a statue. Venus grants his prayer, and, having learned his lesson, Pygmalion leaves the statue and moves on with his life.

The titular role in this piece quite literally begins the opera as an object of male desire who, after exercising agency, is returned to being a pretty piece of scenery. But the events that occur during the course of the play depict a central female figure who defies the expectations set upon her by her creator, and if there is a lesson for Pygmalion, it seems somewhat forward-looking. The plot of the opera occupies a strange space; it contains farce-like elements which often allowed for more exercise of female agency on the stage, but it does not seem to have been intended to be a farce. The initial awakening of Galathée at the end of the first act as well as her being turned back to marble at the end

⁶⁴ Darthenay.

of the piece are presented as dramatic scenes, but in between these scenes we are presented with moments of comedy.

Massé's initial voicing for the piece adds an additional dimension when confronting its gender dynamics; Pygmalion was conceived of as a travesti role, sung by contralto Palmyre Wertheimer.⁶⁵ While romantic entanglements between a female *en travesti* and a female character on stage were not unheard of, casting the protagonist as a soprano or contralto voice was, even by mid-19th century, atypical for "serious" French stage productions.⁶⁶ Wendy Bashant points to Berlioz's 1859 transcription of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* as blurring notions of gender by casting Pauline Viardot in the role of Orfeo.⁶⁷ That Massé would take this step in his adaptation of the Pygmalion myth is not insignificant. And the fact that later productions would change the role of Pygmalion from contralto to baritone implies that there may have been some pushback from the French establishment.

In Victor Massé's *Galathée*, we see a young Delphine Ugalde participating in a performance which would push the envelope in terms of gender performance on the Parisian operatic stage. While elements of the role adhered to the "standard"

⁶⁵ Massé, Victor. *Galathée*. Léon Grus. Paris: 1863.

⁶⁶ Hadlock, Heather. "The Career of Cherubino, Or the Trouser Role Grows Up," in *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, ed. Mary Ann Smart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 67-92. Hadlock details the evolution of the *travesti* role from Cherubino in *Le Nozze di Figaro* to Massenet's *Chérubin* (1905), making note of French Society's changing views of the *travesti* throughout the 19th Century. She notes Berlioz's disdain for the romance between a soprano *en travesti* and a female character in Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* (73), but also notes that "women in trousers were an indispensable element of Second Empire naughtiness" in the operettas of Second Empire France (74).

⁶⁷ Bashant, Wendy. "Singing in Greek Drag: Gluck, Berlioz, George Eliot." in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*. Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith, Eds. Columbia University Press. New York: 1995.

expectations of a *prima donna*, other elements seemed to defy these expectations. Later, especially as she embraced travesti roles, she would continue to stretch these boundaries.

Gil-Blas (1860)

Jules Claretie, in his obituary for Delphine Ugalde, opens by lamenting that simple lines of tribute did not sufficiently convey her impact on a generation of Parisian audiences; one had to have witnessed her firsthand. He then proceeds to describe his memory of Ugalde performing the role of Gil-Blas:

I was still a young schoolboy when I saw. . . in Gil Blas . . . Mme Ugalde singing with infinite art a lament that she made popular. The look of the hungry Gil Blas reclining with guitar at the door of the hotel. . . . There was an intense poetry, touching and comic at the same time, in the supplication of poor Gil Blas, begging for a plate of garbanzos or a glass of amontadillo. . .⁶⁸

Of all the roles which Delphine Ugalde sang throughout her career, Gil-Blas seems to have had the most impact; it is mentioned in almost every obituary. According to an anecdote from Jules Claretie, Ugalde may have had a role in the composition of one of the vocal parts:

One day, the Duke d'Aumale, who was returning from Versailles, where the National Assembly was sitting, began to speak of Madame Ugalde, whom he had heard in *Le Domino Noir*, and to sing to the astonishment of his companions the *couplets* from Gil Blas. . .

“It's a real Spanish air. Madame Ugalde (he pronounced ‘Ougalde’) brought it from Andalusia and dictated to Theophile Semet.”
And the prince took up the chorus, snapping his fingers like castanets.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Claretie, Jules.

⁶⁹ Claretie, Jules.

Théophile Semet's 1860 stage adaptation of Alain-René Lesage's *L'Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*, libretto by Barbier and Carré, was one of his more successful works, but was noted in many reviews as a herculean project that, in the end, had its weaknesses. G. W. Barry wrote in *Le Monde Dramatique*:

We do not believe that the subject of *Gil Blas* is musical, and despite the experience so often found of MM. Carré and Barbier, the poem that they delivered to Mr. Semet subjected the talent of this composer to a severe test. You remember the ancient fable: Apollo skinned Marsyas, after a long fight, and the poor devil's nerves he made the strings of the lyre. But Apollo was a god. M. Semet, who is only a mortal, albeit very clever, has had to find his Marsyas very hard to skin. We congratulate him on having emerged from this half-victorious struggle: there are successes which, not to be complete, do no less honor to the one who obtains them.⁷⁰

The herculean project of adapting *Gil Blas* into an operatic work drew comparisons to Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*; both works were lengthy adaptations of 18th century satires on French society, and both sought to lighten the subject material. The length of the piece seemed to irk the reviewer at *Le Menestrel*:

So far we know only Mozart who dared, under the auspices of Caron de Beaumarchais, to write a comic opera in five acts. And was not the melodic suavity of the great master, was the powerful competition of certain interpreters, even the music of *Les Noces*, this imperishable masterpiece, would soon exhaust the patience of the listener.

It is true that M. Theodore Semet has nothing to do with the formidable proportions of the libretto; he had to accept what he was given. The culprits are Jules Barbier and Michel Carré.⁷¹

Barbier and Carré's adaptation does its best to follow the larger scope of Lesage's work but the plot quickly becomes convoluted. The first act concerns *Gil Blas*' encounter with a gang of bandits in a cave. The middle acts see *Gil Blas* in his role as a valet as he deals

⁷⁰ Barry, G. W. "Théâtre Lyrique." *Le Monde dramatique*. March 29, 1860. Translation by the author.

⁷¹ Lovy, J. "Théâtre Lyrique." *Le Menestrel*. April 1, 1860. Translation by the Author.

with a crooked doctor, pursues Laure, his love interest, and encounters a troupe of bohemian actors. As the work ends, Gil Blas has become rich, and various characters from previous episodes make reappearances. The central thread in the piece is that Gil Blas, through his wit and charm, is able to raise his station in life.⁷²

The ambitious scope of the project may have had some relation to its venue; this production was the last of Léon Carvalho's tenure as director of the Théâtre-Lyrique, a tenure which had included the French adaptations of *Le nozze di Figaro* and *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, Berlioz's transcription of *Orfeo ed Euridice*, *Fidelio*, and numerous new works. Carvalho had a penchant for lavish productions and a reputation for overspending during this time.⁷³ In the end, Semet's music was seen as hobbled by the scope of the project. Immediately following its premiere it saw significant cuts; the vocal score published by Choudens later that year presented the work as an opera in three acts with a prologue.⁷⁴

Despite the perceived weaknesses of the piece, Delphine Ugalde was regarded by most as the chief reason for its success. There was an admiration for her endurance; the role had her on stage for most of the five acts of the piece. J. Lovy said of her performance:

In fact, from her first cavatine to her farewell to the last act, the spirited actress knew how to captivate the audience that we no longer saw the libretto, that we no longer heard Mr. Semet, we belonged body and soul to this woman, to this demon, to this living incarnation of Lesage's Hero.⁷⁵

⁷² The plot summary for this work is found in most contemporaneous reviews; this was common practice at the time.

⁷³ Walsh, T.J. 118.

⁷⁴ Semet, Théophile. *Gil-Blas*. Choudens. Paris: 1860.

⁷⁵ Lovy, J.

The reviewer for *Le Figaro* had a more measured reaction to the performance; while it was acknowledged that her performance was spirited, there was some complaint that her approach went too far, especially in terms of her singing:

She does not know how to moderate herself, she does not want to be spared; give her a chemical match, she will set fire to the role, to the scene, the sets, the boxes; everything will burn, even Mademoiselle Moreau, even Mademoiselle Vadé. You expected an execution, you will have a fire.

Now let's pour a few drops of cold water on the fireplace which threatens to devour the artist herself. Madame Ugalde has always abused an artifice of singing which consists in exaggerating the emission of the voice and pushing the sound outside, using the breathing as a crossbow. In this system, the vocal tract, the mouth and the lips are pretty much a narrow parade stormed by the crowd. The sounds, disproportionately inflated and hunted with force by a bellows that work relentlessly, come out almost always injured or bruised; they have vigor, momentum, and wear: but they have lost freshness and elegance. . .

. . . These reservations made, and this in the interest of Gil Blas, I applaud the success achieved by Ms. Ugalde in a new creation. The actress plays spiritually, and wears the male costume with great ease.⁷⁶

Of note in this review is the powerful language assigned to Ugalde's stage presence.

Jouvin seems taken aback by Ugalde's seeming refusal to demure to artistic expectations for women on stage. That Jouvin would express reservations while Ugalde's performance was generally lauded by the public reveals some conflict regarding its acceptability within Parisian circles. The conflict in this reaction seem to be linked to the distinction between Delphine Ugalde as a performer versus Delphine Ugalde's characterization of Gil-Blas. A woman who did not moderate herself would generally be seen as "hysterical" and out-of control by 19th century Parisian society; a man would not necessarily be subject to these limits. But a woman playing a man on stage, especially in

⁷⁶ Jouvin, B. "Theatres." *Le Figaro*. March 29, 1860. Translation by the author.

a society in which actresses were viewed with some suspicion, would have presented “establishment” viewers with a conundrum, especially when the performance was so well-received by the general public.⁷⁷

The fact that most reviews made a point of praising Ugalde’s “comfort” with the male costume supports the notion that the gender of her character played a role in the success of the performance. And Jouvin’s specific critique of Ugalde’s vocal technique as applied to her performance of *Gil Blas* implies that Ugalde may have been adopting a more “masculine” approach to her singing in order to better portray the character. There may have been some precedent for this. Pauline Viardot, in the 1859 production of *Orfeo ed Euridice* at the Théâtre-Lyrique, was noted to have had moments of vocal “harshness” when singing the (male) role of Orfeo.⁷⁸ This was generally well received; audiences saw her approach as enhancing the characterization.

Delphine Ugalde’s enduring legacy in the role of *Gil-Blas* lay beyond presenting the public with a fine singing voice; there is a sense in the reviews that with this character she conveyed a stage presence unlike anything Parisian audiences had previously experienced. It is notable that this was done not through following the expected guidelines for “beautiful” singing on stage, but through the commanding performance of a male character.

⁷⁷ Berlanstein, Lenard. 135. Berlanstein has detailed the shifting attitudes towards women in the theater in 19th Century France, referring to the Second Empire environment as a “struggle against pornography” in which actresses were often viewed as harlots, and, as discussed earlier in the chapter, powerful women were viewed with suspicion. These views had started to change by the time of the Paris Commune in 1870 and the subsequent revolution, but elements of the Parisian press retained a more conservative view. Mary Louise Roberts details some of this conflict in her examination of the concept of “The New Woman” during the *fin de siècle*.

⁷⁸ Walsh, T.J. 112.

Delphine Ugalde and The Bouffes-Parisiens

Adolphe Julien points to Delphine Ugalde's shift toward secondary theaters and minor roles by the mid-1860s as being symptomatic of a declining voice. While she had some success reprising a number of her earlier triumphs, she eventually did not have the endurance required to take on larger roles.⁷⁹ But prior to this decline, she would have significant successes with the Bouffes-Parisiens: Euridice in revivals of Offenbach's *Orphée aux Enfers*, and the young con-man Roland in Offenbach's *Les Bavards*. While her portrayal of Euridice was generally lauded, her creation of Roland in the latter work would become permanently associated with Ugalde.

It is true that *Les Bavards* is not counted as one of Jacques Offenbach's most enduring works in the modern era, but it seems to have been popular from its premiere through the end of the 19th century. The libretto, by Charles Nutter, recounts the story of Roland, an indebted young man who is hired by Sarmiento, the rich uncle of his love interest, to come to dinner and outtalk Beatrix, Sarmiento's wife. Beatrix discovers the plot and offers her blessing to the young couple if Roland will help her turn the tables on Sarmiento.

Les Bavards was originally premiered during the 1862 festival season in Bad Ems as a one act opera, but due to its success there, Offenbach expanded the work to two acts for the 1863 season of the Bouffes-Parisiens. Some of its success seemed to lie in not just the compact comedy of the plot, but also in Offenbach's score, which Camille Saint-

⁷⁹ Julien, Adolphe.

Saëns called a “small masterpiece.”⁸⁰ For the lead role of Roland, the piece included, among other moments, two extended duet scenes, a Spanish-influenced drinking song, and a patter-rondo. Delphine Ugalde’s ability to take on this challenging role played a huge part in the work’s success, as the part seemed to be tailor-made for her abilities. In *Le Figaro*, Jouvin wrote:

I spoke of the great success obtained by the score of *Les Bavards*: Mme. Ugalde is half of this success. The role of Roland, cut in the pattern of M. Semet’s *Gil Blas*, has been adjusted to the talent of this intrepid singer; she seems to me incomparably better placed than in *Orphée aux Enfers*. She acts with a verve that braves fatigue, and sings with an enthusiasm that is never satisfied.⁸¹

The comparison with *Gil-Blas* was probably inevitable. Both characters are young men of lower station who, over the course of their respective works, dominate the proceedings through their wit and charm. What seems pertinent in looking at this particular review is Jouvin’s change in tone as compared with his reaction to *Gil-Blas*. While he was concerned with Ugalde’s “unrestrained” performance in 1860, with this performance he seems generally pleased. Whether or not this was due to a more restrained performance on the part of Ugalde is unclear; he still employs ideas of intensity and energy in his review, and he notably does not mention any decline in her vocal sound.

If *Gil-Blas* brought Ugalde critical acclaim through her riveting performance as a male character, *Les Bavards* seems to have continued this trend.

⁸⁰ Gammond, Peter. *Offenbach: His Life and Times*. Expanded ed. Neptune City, N.J: Paganiniana Publications, Inc, 1981. 72.

⁸¹ Jouvin, B. “Théâtres.” *Le Figaro*. March 1, 1863.

Off-Stage Connections

Delphine Ugalde's enduring success as a singer seems to have been tied not just to vocal prowess, but to her ability to present highly engaging stage performances. Her ability to play a wide variety of characters onstage became the chief asset in her performing, even as she may have been dealing with vocal difficulties. Her most memorable roles seem to have either been witty male characters, as in the case of Gil-Blas and Roland, or female characters who refuse to adhere to the expectations laid upon them, as in the case of Galathée. That one of her greatest successes onstage was Gil-Blas, a determined and resourceful man, raises the question as to whether her offstage personality and pursuits were as fluid and dynamic as her reputation as a performer.

Judith Butler's discussion of drag performance is a useful frame here:

Gender parody reveals that the original identity after which gender fashions itself is an imitation without an origin. To be more precise, it is a production which, in effect – that is, in its effect – postures as an imitation. This perpetual displacement constitutes a fluidity of identities that suggests an openness to resignification and recontextualization; parodic proliferation deprives hegemonic culture and its critics of the claim to naturalized or essentialist gender identities.⁸²

Butler's ideas support the possibility that Ugalde's stage work, through its blurring of gender binaries, would have presented a challenge to societal power structures. Her reviewers were not always certain as whether to try and "contain" her by criticizing her excess on stage, or to praise her abilities as an actress. The later work of actress Sarah Bernhardt presented a similar conundrum.

Mary Louise Roberts has discussed the reception of Bernhardt's cross-dressing on

⁸² Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Routledge Classics. New York: Routledge, 2006. 175

stage in the last decade of the 19th century; older, more conservative journalists attributed her ability to play a man on stage to the superiority of her femininity, while more progressive papers saw her performances as more subversive.⁸³ The end result, according to Roberts, was that:

Bernhardt's "feminine Hamlet" destabilized the categories of gender in two ways. Bernhardt revealed, first, that there was a great deal of woman in the man, thus blurring the opposition between these two. And second, as a woman playing a man, Bernhardt undermined the notion of a true gendered self, revealing it to be a matter of performance.⁸⁴

Roberts' discussion also touches on the notion that Bernhardt's cross-dressing extended to her offstage pursuits, as she took up theater direction and gained a reputation as one of the most powerful women in *fin-de-siècle* Paris.⁸⁵ Likewise, it is possible that Delphine Ugalde's strength in performing male roles impacted her off-stage pursuits. While the simple act of taking on a *travesti* role may not have been quite as novel as Bernhardt's *fin-de-siècle* portrayal of Hamlet, Ugalde's embrace and comfort with performing in this fashion clearly had an impact on her contemporaries.⁸⁶ And these on-stage acts of "male" gender performance could have served as a catalyst for her decision to pursue composition, an area long-seen as male-dominated. A closer look at her compositional projects within the next chapter will explore the evidence that her experience as a performer had an enduring impact on not just her aspirations as a composer, but on specific details of her compositions.

⁸³ Roberts, Mary Louise. 174-177.

⁸⁴ Roberts, Mary Louise. 177.

⁸⁵ Roberts, Mary Louise. 179.

⁸⁶ See footnote 66 for some discussion of the evolution of the *travesti* role in 19th Century France.

CHAPTER 4

READING THE COMPOSITIONS OF DELPHINE UGALDE

Letzer and Adelson, in their examination of women opera composers prior to 1830, make the observation that, while many women had success pursuing composition in their own lifetimes, they often fell into obscurity after their deaths:

Since the days of Élisabeth-Claude Jacquet de la Guerre (1665-1729), the first woman opera composer in France, women composers and librettists have enjoyed great success during their lifetimes, only to disappear from the historical record. . . . This chronic cultural amnesia with regard to women composers has reinforced the androcentric canon and discouraged women who might have had the talent and ambition to compose.⁸⁷

The assertion of “chronic cultural amnesia” raises the question of how much those women who pursued composition in the 19th century were influenced by their male peers; certainly there is a case to be made in the work of Pauline Viardot, who arranged a number of Chopin’s mazurkas as songs. In her case, the influence seems to have gone both ways, as her opinions were valued by many of her male peers.⁸⁸ Other women composers during this era, such as Augusta Holmès, studied under the tutelage of well-regarded male composers.⁸⁹

Sally MacArthur, in her reading of Alma Schindler-Mahler’s “Ansturm,” has

⁸⁷ Letzter, Jacqueline, and Robert Adelson. *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution*. Studies on the History of Society and Culture 43. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001. 2.

⁸⁸ Kendall-Davies, Barbara.

⁸⁹ Elson, Arthur. *Women’s Work in Music*. The Page Company. Boston: 1903. 178

made the point that while Alma Mahler was a woman composer, she was influenced in her choices by her male teachers and colleagues:

. . .[Alma Schindler-Mahler] would have been well aware of the accepted codes of behavior for men and women in her day. In some respects, she was nonconformist. She did not adopt accepted behaviors for women, including, if we conceive of composing as a behavior, venturing onto the male territory of composing. . . . Alma Schindler-Mahler accessed, rehearsed, and performed music, her own and that of others, becoming an accomplished composer and imitating the styles of her male role models. But her sexed body, her female body, performed these acts of imitating, composing, and performing. . .⁹⁰

MacArthur's analysis of Alma Mahler's work hints that the elements of "masculinity" and "femininity" within the work of female composers cannot be clearly separated; when considering the larger cultural context and musical backgrounds of these women, one cannot simply declare their works to be "feminine" simply for the reason that they happen to be women. At the same time, we are dealing with women who compose.

All this is to ask the question of *how* to read and understand the compositional work of Delphine Ugalde. In her case we are presented with a stage performer known for her theatrical portrayal of men who, toward the end of her performing career, set her sights on pursuing the traditionally male-dominated field of composition. What were the musical elements that defined Ugalde's compositions? Is it possible to define those elements as "male" or "female," or did her compositions move as easily between the masculine and feminine as she was able to in her performing?

Contemporaneous reviews of Ugalde's work hint at the complex gender dynamics at work in Paris' theaters. Theater director Nestor Roqueplan, writing in *Le*

⁹⁰ Macarthur, Sally. *Feminist Aesthetics in Music*. Contributions to the Study of Music and Dance, no. 61. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2002. 77.

Constitutionnelle, stated:

The Bouffes-Parisiens gave the first performance of a piece titled: *La Halte au Moulin*. . . . it is not surprising that Mme. Ugalde is fun and varied in three different costumes. But what is surprising is that Mme. Ugalde composed a pretty and colorful score for this modest scene. In general, I do not believe in women's music. Women musicians always have a former teacher of harmony whose devotion is suspect. As for the small score of *La Halte au Moulin*, I challenge any hidden professor to have written it: there are three or four pieces whose verve is a signature. It was Mme. Ugalde who made them.⁹¹

Temporarily setting aside the fact that Roqueplan graciously reconsidered his disdain for "women's music," his claim that Ugalde's music was unmistakably "hers" is interesting. This was Ugalde's first publicly presented stage composition, and Roqueplan seems to be relating her compositional voice to her well-established reputation as a performer. It appears that, if there was a significant factor in the development of Delphine Ugalde's approach to composition, it stemmed from the fact that her first significant compositions were written for herself to perform. These works show an attention to the vocal line, and contain elements which reflect her penchant for playing both male and female characters on stage. And even when writing for other singers, she seems to have, at times, blurred "accepted" notions of gender performance within her compositions.

With these ideas in mind, two of Ugalde's stage works will be discussed, *La Halte au Moulin* and *Seule*, highlighting moments which feature her tendency to toy with elements of gender performance on stage. Since both of these works featured Ugalde in their premiere performances, their respective musical and dramatic content seems tailor-made to her strengths as a performer and her ease in playing male characters. Following

⁹¹ Roqueplan, Nestor. "Théâtres." *Le Constitutionnelle*. January 14, 1867. Translation by the author.

the examination of Ugalde's surviving stage works, her 1878 collection of *mélodies* will be considered. This work was more "serious" in tone and was intended for other singers, and thus shows a different side to Ugalde's compositional voice. Where appropriate, the work of Susan McClary and Sally Macarthur will be used as a critical lens for examining the implications of Ugalde's musical choices.

La Halte au Moulin (1867)

While most likely intended as an intermezzo or afterpiece for the 1867 revival of Offenbach's *Orphée aux Enfers* at the Bouffes-Parisiens, *La Halte au Moulin* is not an insignificant work. The one-act, three-person show follows Madeline, the wife of a perpetually drunk mill-owner who, while running the mill for her husband, has to contend with the unwelcome advances of a Chevalier returning from war. Utilizing a trove of costumes left by her actress sister, Madeline disguises herself as a musketeer and later the Chevalier's rich aunt in an attempt to send the Chevalier on his way.⁹²

Delphine Ugalde played the central role of Madeline in her composition, and took full advantage of the opportunity to portray multiple characterizations. But the shifting gender dynamics of the piece are established long before her character changes costume. The first vocal solo featured in the piece is given to Magloire, Madeline's husband. In his opening air, he laments that since getting married, Madeline has changed from singing sweetly and being loving to being perpetually demanding and angry:

Before going to household
Madeline was still singing
She was the pearl of the village,

⁹² De Launay, Alphonse. "Les Théâtres." *Le Mousquetaire*. January 13, 1867.

I was her dearest love

Alas! Since then it is the opposite;
She's teasing, she's angry
And she says, dear husband,
You are brutal and jealous.
Come on, walk! Obey!

I do not know, but of all my being
Fear takes hold and I, the master,
Fearing the blows, I run softly.

O Madeline! You, so naughty,
Who will tell me what changed you?
Worshiped woman, my beloved!
For you, night and day, I burn with love!

Before going to household. . .⁹³

What is significant about Magloire's initial complaint is the lack of anger; the role is for baritone voice, but the text of his opening air is moody and romantic. He seems resigned to his fate, and Ugalde takes advantage of this in her setting of the air. She avoids setting any of this text in a patter fashion and opts for melodic contours more reminiscent of a serenade. For the central section of the text, the piece throws off all pretext of being anything but a slow serenade or lament; she modulates from F-major through Db-major to Bb-major and calls for a cantabile tempo (Figure 4.1). It seems clear that this musical depiction is one that toys with musical expressions of masculinity but ultimately falls short. Susan McClary's reading of Don Jose's "Flower Song" is an apt comparison, as she highlights a melodically constricting pitch-ceiling that is ultimately penetrated in a

⁹³ Ugalde, Delphine and Constant Jardry. *La Halte au Moulin*. Translation by the Author. The only available printing of Jardry's text for the work is in the published vocal score. The spoken dialogue does not seem to have survived.

moment of passionate excess.⁹⁴ In this case, however, Magloire’s melody seems to shy away from the pitch-ceiling (the repeated A-flat), and after the moment of “penetration” on the fermata, there is a de-emphasization of the passage’s resolving pitch (B-flat). Rather than power through his frustration, Magloire takes a more submissive stance.

Magloire

Je ne sais, mais de tout mon être La peur s'em - pa - re Et... moi, le

Piano

4

B.

maî - tre, crai-gnant les coups, je fi-le doux... O Ma-de - li - ne!

Pno.

dolce

Cantabile

p

Figure 4.1: *La Halte au Moulin*, Air de Magloire, mm. 33-46

Madeline’s opening air offers a stark contrast to Magloire’s submissive stance. Her characterization is tailor-made for Ugalde’s strengths:

I am the miller who is said to be beautiful and proud,
 Here I order around boys and husband.
 I hate the noise, flee the gossip
 And in the mill everything works well.

⁹⁴ McClary, Susan. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990. 59.

But it's always necessary that I, the mistress
I watch here, that I say: 'Hola!
Boy, the flour looks bad,
The tick is soft, It's crazy.
Baptiste, Magloire, You are drinking,
Wheat is more than just darned,
Ah! God! What trouble! It's out of breath,
I think I'll beat my valets!'

Ah! If I were a man!
We would see how it would work,
But me, weak woman, There I would lose my soul
and they would say:

See the shrew! It's a shrew
who overthrows everything,
pushes you to the end,

And yet I love with an extreme love
My kind husband, my darling husband. . .

I am the miller. . .⁹⁵

Most significant in this text is Madeline's lament that she is not a man; that because she is a "weak" woman, her efficient command of the mill is frowned on by those around her. Ugalde seemed acutely aware of this contrast in her musical setting; the wish to be a man is set as a rapidly ascending scale, ending with a perfect authentic cadence in the accompaniment. The following line about being a "weak" woman immediately destabilizes the harmonic center established by the previous cadence (Figure 4.2). Susan McClary has made reference to the musical semiotics of gender that were prevalent in the 19th-century⁹⁶, and in this case, Ugalde seems to have been aware of this in her setting of the text. This characterization is intriguing; she does not despise her

⁹⁵ Ugalde, Delphine and Constant Jardry. *La Halte au Moulin*. Translation by the Author.

⁹⁶ McClary, Susan. 12-15.

husband or seem bored with him, nor does she express an overt desire that he act more “masculine.” Her complaint instead seems to be that she is looked down on for taking efficient command of the mill. She takes issue with being labeled a “shrew;” in her view, her circumstances demand that she act in this manner.

Musically and dramatically, the characterizations present in *La Halte au Moulin* demonstrate Ugalde’s performance preferences; the role of Madeline is intended to dominate the plot, and the role of her husband, Magloire, takes a much more submissive role. And Madeline’s discussion of her own expected behavior as a woman in her first air demonstrates Ugalde’s ease, both as a composer and performer, with both “masculine” and “feminine” moments. In many ways this opening air foreshadows moments which occur later in the piece, as Madeline is forced to take on the role of a man in order to protect her own virtue.

Seule (1873)

As noted in Chapter 1, performance details for Delphine Ugalde’s 1873 one-woman show *Seule* have been difficult to locate. It is, however, one of the most readily available scores from her body of work, and it shows Ugalde’s penchant for gender-bending both as a composer and as a performer. The piece follows the potential romance between a suitor, Carcassou, and a young lady, Ginetta. Both roles seem to have been played by Ugalde; Carcassou only appears on stage at the beginning and end of the piece, and in the final scene, a mute figure takes the place of Ginetta for the purposes of

Vivace

Madeline

Ah! si j'é-tai-hom-me, on ver-rai-t bien-com-me Ce-la mar-che-rait, Ce-la mar-che-rait.

Vivace

Piano

Un peu moins vite.

S.

Mais moi, fai-ble fem-me, J'y per-drais mon â-me

Pno.

p

S.

Et l'on se di-rai-t: Vo-yez la mé-gè-re!

Pno.

S.

C'est u-ne mé-gè-re qui ren-ver-se tout, qui vons pousse à bout,

Pno.

Figure 4.2: *La Halte au Moulin*, Air de Madeline, mm. 38-56

having two bodies on stage.⁹⁷ During the central portion of the work, Ginetta engages in imagined arguments with her brother, the protector of her “virtue,” at one point singing a

⁹⁷ Ugalde, Delphine. *Seule*. A. O’Kelly. Paris: c.a 1874.

“duo bouffe” with herself. Ugalde wrote the vocal part for this section on two staves, and at the end of the piece the singer is required to switch between voices on the half-beat:

The image shows a musical score for a piece titled "Seule, No. 5 Duo Bouffe". It consists of three staves. The top staff is for a female voice, labeled "Ginetta", in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#) and a 4/4 time signature. It contains the lyrics "Ah! Le pour - fen - dre Ah!". The middle staff is for a male voice, labeled "Ginetta (voix d'homme)", in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It contains the lyrics "Oui Le pour - fen - dre". The bottom staff is for the piano accompaniment, labeled "Piano", in grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature and time signature. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *f* (forte), and various musical notations including notes, rests, and slurs.

Figure 4.3: *Seule*, No. 5 Duo Bouffe, mm. 91-93

This in particular shows Ugalde writing for herself in novel and inventive ways; she seems to have had a clear idea of her strengths as a performer, especially in regards to portraying both male and female characters. In the case of the above example, the musical construction of gender is very straightforward, as Ugalde is making use of the range difference between the two “voices.” What becomes significant is the fact that this is intended for a single performer.

Both *Seule* and *La Halte au Moulin* challenge accepted notions of gender performance on the 19th century Parisian stage, and, as discussed, this extends to the musical elements of these pieces. There is some question as to whether these decisions were made purely for comedic reasons or whether Ugalde was trying to make a social statement. Both works, after all, are considered comic operas. Ralph P. Locke has noted, however, that it is precisely their light and carefree nature that allows comic operas to

potentially become more subversive than “serious” works,⁹⁸ and this is worth considering when examining these two examples. They certainly contain elements which, in many ways, are an extension of Ugalde’s “atypical” successes at the height of her performing career.

Vingt Mélodies sur les Sonnets de Adrien Dézamy (1878)

Vingt Mélodies sur les Sonnets de Adrien Dézamy represents an effort by Delphine Ugalde to create a “serious” body of music which united visual art, poetry, and music. In her discussion of Poulenc’s *Le travail du peintre*, Carol Kimball has noted that projects of this sort are not usual;⁹⁹ that Ugalde would compose a collection of vocal music with this aim is significant and shows her pursuit of success in a field long-dominated by men. The publication of the *Mélodies* was well reviewed by the *Gazette des Femmes*. Her work was regarded as well-constructed and harmonically interesting:

. . .Mme Ugalde has just published with chez Gregh an album of twenty melodies, dedicated, in an amiable move of justice, to another artist of great authority, Ms. Pauline Viardot. - The text is a collection of sonnets rhymed by M Dézamy on artistic works, such as *Les Printemps*, the statue by Mrs. Leon Bertaux, *l’Esclave*, the painting by Mrs. Laure de Chantillon, etc. We are therefore, in reading, in friendly company. This music is full of harmonic science and study. Mme Ugalde belongs to the new school, to that which hates banal. The only reproach that could be addressed to the composer is almost a eulogy, it is the love of chiseled and finite.¹⁰⁰

The concept of this project was positively received, and upon examination, the scope of

⁹⁸ Locke, Ralph P. “What are these women doing in opera?” in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*. 63.

⁹⁹ Kimball, Carol. *Song: A Guide to Art Song Style and Literature*. Milwaukee, WI: Hal Leonard, 2005. 235.

¹⁰⁰ “Théâtre et Musique.” *Gazette des Femmes*. December 10, 1878. Translation by the Author.

the work was suited well for the “friendly company” of the *Gazette des Femmes*. The published collection indicates the corresponding piece of visual art and artist for each respective *mélodie*.¹⁰¹ A wide variety of artists are represented, both painters and sculptors, and the inclusion of works by women such as Hélène Bertaux is not insignificant.¹⁰² More than half of the collection features female subjects, and Ugalde indicated which specific voice type should sing each piece. The texts assigned to male voices are more often than not praising or describing their subject, while the texts to which female voices were assigned often give voice to their subject. All of the songs in this collection show preference to the vocal line; while Ugalde includes interludes for the piano and occasional interjections, the accompaniment more often than not tends toward providing harmonic support for the singer.

Of particular interest is Ugalde’s setting of “Pietà” for soprano voice. The subject of the sonnet, a painting by William-Adolphe Bouguereau, depicts Mary, who, while grieving over the body of Jesus, seemingly stares out at the viewer with red, tear-stained eyes. The painting was started shortly after the death of Bouguereau’s son, and this influenced the work.¹⁰³ The sonnet that Adrien Dézamy wrote on this subject speaks to Mary’s expression:

My son is dead! . . . Lord, in this supreme moment
My soul is torn and flies towards you;
And my mother's forehead, under your heavenly blows,
Bows respectfully, without complaint and without blasphemy

In the crucifixion, this gentle Jesus that I love,
It's in my wounded heart they sank nails!

¹⁰¹ Ugalde, Delphine. *Vingt Mélodies sur les sonnets de Adrien Dézamy*. Louis Gregh. Paris: 1878.

¹⁰² Bertaux was an outspoken feminist, and her decision to pursue sculpture was considered provocative.

¹⁰³ “Pietà.” Art Renewal Center. <<https://www.artrenewal.org/Artwork/Index/26>> Accessed 3-5-2018.

Alas! This child, grew up on my knees,
It only remains for me this pale corpse.

The earthly salvation blood was the price.
You had given, you have taken away:
May your will be done, O my father!

I bend, praying, under the weight of pain;
But anxiety grips me, and I may - I hope -
Without disobeying you let my tears flow!¹⁰⁴

For Delphine Ugalde, the opening two lines of this sonnet were crucial; her setting reuses these lines at the end of the piece. After a short piano introduction which features a chromatically descending figure, the vocal line outlines a d-minor chord only to land on a moment of dissonance, as the bass line of the accompaniment maintains a d pedal-point while the upper harmony shifts to a diminished chord.

The silence and the “Seigneur” (Lord) which follow create a moment of stark, plaintive grief. Later, the statement’s repeat at the end of the song exacerbates the tension between the ideas of human grief and heavenly destiny, as the accompaniment repeats its introductory chromatic descent while the vocal line ascends on the text “My soul is torn and flies towards you.” Ugalde, in setting this, was aware of the implications raised in both the painting and the poem. The result is a well-crafted musical depiction of a Mary who, rather than beatifically offering the body of her son to the world, declaims her maternal grief to all who would hear it and comes close to accusing heaven for its role in her fate.

¹⁰⁴ Dézamy, Adrien. *Poésies de Adrien Dézamy mises en musique par Mme. Ugalde*. Cl Motteroz. Paris: 1878. 10. Translation by the author.

Andante sostenuto

Piano

p

5 *p*

S. Mon fils est mort! Sei-gneur, en ce mo-ment su - prè - me, Mon.

Pno. *p*

Figure 4.4: "Pietà" mm. 1-8

avec desespoir *crescendo*

S. prè - me, Mon â - me se dé - chi - re et s'en -

Piano

suivez plaintif *douloureux*

4 *f*

S. vo - le vers vous!

Pno. *rall* *diminuendo*

Figure 4.5: "Pietà" mm. 67-74

Closing Thoughts

Delphine Ugalde's ambitions as a composer certainly continued following the publication of her 1878 collection, but it is hard to evaluate how her style may have evolved toward the end of her life. To date, the only music that survives from her later years are five songs published individually between the years of 1880 and 1892. Two of these are strophic songs ("L'Elève de St. Cyr" and "Les Sabots"), one is a vocally complicated rondo ("Le bal de roses"), and two are sacred settings for low voice ("Ave Maria" and "Tantum Ergo"). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the scores for three of her stage works, including her full-length operetta do not seem to have survived.

What is clear in looking at her surviving works is that Ugalde's primary influence in her earliest vocal works was her own experience as a singer; in these pieces we see musical writing which is tailor-made for both her vocal abilities and her strengths as an actress. And while these works are in a "lighter" style intended for venues along the lines of the Bouffes-Parisiens, there are elements which stretch accepted notions of gender performance. Here it is apt to return to the earlier questions of "masculine" and "feminine" elements in compositions by female composers. As shown in the examples from *La Halte au Moulin*, Ugalde dealt with both ideas in her composition, but she deliberately assigned more "feminine" music to the lead male character while allowing for "masculine" moments to be assigned to the female character. And in *Seule*, she allowed herself to take on both genders.

Ugalde's foray into making a "serious" artistic statement with the *Vingt Mélodies sur les sonnets de Adrien Dézamy* is not concerned with stretching notions of gender, but

it shows Ugalde's ease with writing specifically for multiple voice types and represents a foray into a professional field long dominated by men. The project was tied not just to the visual arts, but to a number of women artists including the sculptor and feminist Hélène Bertaux, and there is heavy inclusion of art works centered on female subjects. Specific musical and textual moments such as the opening and closing of "Pietà" show a determination to characterize many of these subjects in new ways.

The musicologist Sally MacArthur has discussed the notion of a music which is "between the two," that is, music which can touch on both masculine and feminine elements, and her assertion is that it is "women's music" which is capable of occupying this space.¹⁰⁵ Looking at the compositions of Delphine Ugalde, one can see an example which supports this idea. But Ugalde's compositions are just one facet of an entire life which potentially occupies a space "in between" the masculine and feminine.

¹⁰⁵ MacArthur, Sally. 182

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

What was the impact Delphine Ugalde's life and work, both in terms of her compositional output and in terms of her other pursuits? One immediate impact of Delphine Ugalde's choices is apparent when considering her family legacy; both her daughter and her granddaughter adopted the name "Ugalde" when pursuing their own careers as performers, Marguerite following directly in Delphine's footsteps as a singer, actor, and composer, and granddaughter Jeanne pursuing spoken theater. Marguerite, when asked in an interview about her choices between life as a performer and a more "traditional" existence, answered:

I find that independence, for anyone, is the most beautiful situation that can be desired in life. A woman, with talent, glory, and success, that gives her the fortune and the energy necessary, can rightly call herself happy in the world and must walk right in life without the help of anyone.

Morals aside, I judge that in this circumstance marriage would be rather harmful than anything else; besides, for me marriage no longer exists as long as it is mixed up with divorce!

If my existence was to be redone, my faith! . . . I would start again. . . even nonsense - I would have the courage of my opinion beyond all expression. And for my daughter I would like the same, unless I do not recognize the means of existence that I had the happiness of always having by myself.

I would dream then the protection of an excellent heart that would make her happy in every way! But it's dreaming, because it's so rare. . . that I would prefer talent, a lot of talent.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ "La femme artiste, elle-est heureuse?" Article de presse sur Marguerite Ugalde, artiste lyrique. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 8-RO-5957. Translation by the author.

We see in Marguerite's answers an unapologetic advocacy for her own independent life and outspoken opinions, and a desire that her daughter pursue a similar course. And while Marguerite's performing career may not have had the wide-ranging success which Delphine enjoyed, the fact that Marguerite and her daughter were inspired to take up these pursuits speaks volumes about their family legacy.

On a larger scale, one can see Delphine Ugalde's choices as foreshadowing larger societal changes. Over the course of her life, France saw two revolutions which each had their own feminist movements. The movements associated with the 1848 revolution demanded equality with men, but retained set notions of male and female.¹⁰⁷ These movements were quickly silenced with the establishment of the Second Empire. It was not until 1868 and later when a change in press laws would assist a new wave of feminist thought in France,¹⁰⁸ and the last decades of the century would give rise to the notion of the "New Woman."¹⁰⁹

By the 1890s and beyond, more Parisian women took up musical composition and many were embracing feminist ideals; the compositional work of Pauline Viardot and Nadia and Lili Boulanger has been well documented. While the available information does not show Ugalde being involved at the forefront of these movements, it is not hard

¹⁰⁷Moses, Claire Goldberg. *French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century*. SUNY Series in European Social History. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984. 132. Going as far back as the 17th century, there is a long history of swings in attitude regarding the place of women in French society, especially within the performing arts. Certain periods were more tolerant than others, and after the 1789 revolution, these shifts became more frequent. Moses' work excellently details the seeds of the various 19th century movements. Berlanstein's work (cited elsewhere in this paper) has detailed the impact of these shifts on women in the theater.

¹⁰⁸ Moses, Claire Goldberg. 173

¹⁰⁹ Roberts, Mary Louise. 3.

to see her life and career as helping to further the goal of gender equality. She seems to have been at the very beginning of this if not ahead of the curve, beginning her career in what the theater historian Lenard R. Berlanstein has described as a more restrictive era for women in the theatre of the Second Empire and ending it as the ideals of the Third Republic and the “Belle Epoque” were offering new possibilities for Parisian women.¹¹⁰

There is undoubtedly more work to be done in examining Delphine Ugalde’s life and career. The biographical sketch which was assembled for Chapter 1 is by no means exhaustive; the sources which were assembled and translated for the purposes of piecing together her life story mention various trips to other major cities in Europe, but the fine details of her performances outside of Paris will require further research into Spanish and British press archives. Additionally, details regarding Ugalde’s personal life and pursuits as a stage director remain murky. The letters which were preserved by Arthur Pougin offer one side of a long-running correspondence from late in her life, but lacking his responses, it is difficult to fully assess the relationship between the two. Jules Claretie’s remembrance perhaps gives the most insight into how well connected Ugalde was throughout her lifetime, as he claims to have had access to her papers, but his writing presents similar challenges as Pougin’s; he offers a series of letters *to* Ugalde, but her responses are missing.

The roles of Gil-Blas, Galathée, and to a lesser extent Roland, as discussed in Chapter 2, were Ugalde’s most memorable in terms of stage performance; press reviews from these performances as well as remembrances from the time of her death confirm

¹¹⁰ Berlanstein, Lenard R.

this. These are, however, three roles from a stage career which lasted around twenty-five years. Attention has been given to these particular performances because of their obvious staying power with Parisian audiences; looking further at her other roles in detail might offer more insights into both the successes and shortcomings of her singing career.

Each of the compositional projects examined in Chapter 3 warrants a more detailed examination. Since Ugalde's approach to composition was heavily influenced by her stage work, her surviving compositions contain examples, both musical and dramatic, which stretch notions of gender performance on stage. Her compositional ambitions, coupled with a positive reception in her own lifetime, raise the question of where her work fits within the world of 19th-century composers.

The conventional wisdom regarding female composers in the 19th century and prior has been that "successful" women composers were few and far between. Letzter and Adelson have shown that, in the case of opera prior to 1830, this has not been the case.¹¹¹ And recent scholarship has uncovered a number of women after 1830 who had success in their own lifetimes composing for the stage as well as for other settings.¹¹² The musicologist Sally MacArthur, has argued that, in light of work along these lines, we should be reassessing *how* we understand the traditional canon of great music:

The canon of Western art music consists of great composers who, as it happens, are men. . . . it has never been my intention to dismiss the traditional canon, offering in its place women's music as something of a countercanon. Rather, it has been my intention to suggest ways of expanding the canon, thus discouraging the notion of stasis in the field of

¹¹¹ Letzter, Jacqueline, and Robert Adelson.

¹¹² James, April Lynn. "In Her Own Hand: Operas Composed by Women 1625-1913" Drexel University College of Computing and Informatics. 2016.
<https://lisdemo.libguides.com/operas_composed_by_women>. Accessed 3-8-2018.

music. The canon should not be considered closed, but rather as part of a dynamic process that is constantly open to negotiation and change.¹¹³

While it may be presumptuous to argue that Delphine Ugalde's compositions are worthy of inclusion in the canon of great music, it is reasonable to assert that her work supports MacArthur's idea that the accepted canon of western art music should be in a constant state of reassessment and negotiation. Ugalde's proximity to "great" (male) composers as well as her relationship with women whose work has been uncovered and reexamined in recent years has warranted a closer study of her work.

Moving beyond her compositional ambitions, Ugalde's entire life, both on- and off-stage, can be seen as challenging accepted notions of gender performance in 19th-century French society. In this sense, J. L. Austin's theories of performative speech are invoked and extended to apply not just to Ugalde's acts of gender performance in her capacity as a singer and actor, but to her choices off-stage and to her compositional decisions.¹¹⁴ Judith Butler has discussed this sort of extension in her theories of gender, viewing expressions of gender as performative acts,¹¹⁵ and in recent work she has stated:

...the speech act, as the act of a speaking body, is always to some extent unknowing about what it performs, that it always says something that it does not intend, and that it is not the emblem of mastery or control that it sometimes purports to be ... that is, there is what is said, and then there is the kind of saying that the bodily 'instrument' of the utterance performs.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ MacArthur, Sally. 177

¹¹⁴ Austin, J. L. *How to do things with words*. ed. J. O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.

¹¹⁵ Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal*. Vol. 40, No. 4 (Dec. 1988). 522, 530.

¹¹⁶ Butler, Judith. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge Classics, 1996. 11.

Applying these theories to the case of Delphine Ugalde, one can see that since her off-stage pursuits of composition and opera direction were so closely related to her on-stage career, her on- and off-stage choices must be seen as inseparable parts of one whole. And the “independence of spirit” described in Georges Bell’s account of her early life continued into all aspects of her adulthood.

Delphine Ugalde was a woman who, onstage, often performed as male to great success, and in her professional choices offstage, engaged in activities that, according to norms of 19th century French society, would have fallen more into a “male” domain. Her ability to play a variety of characters onstage became a chief asset in her performing, and her flexibility and determination off-stage took her in a number of non-standard directions, namely composition and operatic direction.

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APPENDIX A

A TRANSLATION OF JULES CLARETIE'S OBITUARY FOR
DELPHINE UGALDE

A few years ago, the newspapers announced deaths on the first page, like a bereavement striking the theater. Today the octogenarian who was popular, who was acclaimed, whose name is illustrious, has for her obituary some lines in the back, in the theatrical news. They are lines of praise, no doubt, and where those who have not known, who voice their second-hand regrets, but these articulations do not say, cannot say what disappeared from the scene so many years ago. We need rare witnesses who can pay their respects to what was past.

The portraits faithfully reflect the spiritual traits, the look, the smile of Delphine Ugalde, who dominated Paris. In the gallery of dramatic artists, Madame Ugalde, in her costume from the time of Louis XIII, *Gil Blas*, purple velvet coat on the shoulder, gray felt on the front, sword on the side, still appears to us as it charmed the crowd in this travesti that she wore with a seductive swagger. Her daughter, Marguerite Ugalde, also has the fine and frank appearance of a spiritually conquering actress.

I was still a young schoolboy when I saw in *Galathee*, in *Gil Blas* also, Mme. Ugalde singing with infinite art a lament that she made popular, - the look of hungry *Gil Blas* reclining with a guitar at the door of caballeros assembled in a hotel:

Under the beautiful sky of Spain
Without food or drink
Travel. . .

There was an intense poetry, touching and comic at the same time, in the supplication of poor Gil Blas, asking for the donation of a plate of garbanzos or a glass of amontadillo;

O see you at the table
Surrounded by tasty food,
Have pity on a poor devil
Who sings with the hollow stomach!

One day, in a carriage, the Duke d'Aumale, who was returning from Versailles where the National Assembly was sitting, began to speak of Madame Ugalde, whom he had heard in *Le Domino Noir*. He began to sing to the astonishment of his companions those couplets from *Gil Blas*, which he had in London at the time recalled France and Spain.

“It's a real Spanish air. Madame Ugalde. . .” (he pronounced ‘Ougalde’) “. . .brought it from Andalusia and dictated to Theophile Semet.”

And the prince took up the chorus, snapping his fingers like castanets.

Mme Ugalde in *Gil Blas*, Marie Cabal in the *Bijou perdu*, Scriwaneck in *L'amour, qué que c'est qu'ça?* Dejazet and his comrades, it was a time that could be called Parisian art, the spirit of Paris, of the Opéra-Comique, and of the Théâtre-Lyrique aux Variétés. A charming, alert, kind art; of music, no doubt, but of grace, of good humor, of elegance, something still of the eighteenth century, and the seduction of Madame Favart in the middle of the nineteenth. We were still far from the swaying waltzes.

A few years ago the charming woman who has just died brought me a whole bunch of letters, souvenirs, wrecks of her brilliant artistic life, and asked me to make known to the public that after a long and glorious career as a singer, a musician, and a theater director, she finally wanted to retire and give a representation of retirement.

"Raise me," she said with a smile.

And she left me these testimonies of the successes of the past, these praises, these thanks, these attestations to the illustrious signatures, those yellowed notes with which she would have, if she had wished, been able to reconstitute her former existence, to write her *memoires*.

"It will be seen," she said to me, "that for my most famous contemporaries, I was not the first to arrive!"

Poor great artist! It was not necessary to evoke this past so that this name remained resounding: Ugalde, was applauded again. This farewell performance she desired would have been triumphant. She renounced it out of timidity, out of compunction. But after giving her back her autographs, I proposed to "raise her," as she said, during her lifetime, and this joy that I had given her would unfortunately be only a homage, a last thought brought to her tomb.

A queen of Paris! Yes, yes. This is clearly seen in this correspondence, which includes all the great names of a happy era for French theater and art. We can see how good and generous, and how kind, and so loved, the one that turned every head in *Le Caïd*, *l'Ambassadrice*, *La Fée aux Roses*, and *La Chanteuse Voilée*. Gounod, who begins by asking for her protection, and Rachel, in full renown, calls for her visit.

"CITY OF PARIS

Paris, Sunday 18? February 1835

COMMUNAL SCHOOLS

Direction of the orphéon

Madame,

I had for some days formed the project of going to visit you today; but besides that I am a little ill, I think that this day being the one where we are quite sure to find you at home, I would have probably met some visitors whose presence would have a little embarrassed by the purpose of my visit.

This is a rather obscure preamble; here is the explanation.

I have just published six melodies, copies of which were brought to me the day before yesterday only. I dared to take the liberty to dedicate one to you, madame, and that without your prior consent, but with the memory of your kind reception, which seemed to me almost an authorization. I come then to apologize for this privation, and to beg you not to deny me. And then I come to ask you another favor: that is to indicate to me a day of the week when I could see you at your house at about four o'clock, except on Wednesday. Look! I am very indiscrete; but I am well, well occupied, and you will forgive me for you the indication of an appointment which my forced and official duties as director of the choir would perhaps have obliged me not to accept.

Excuse my importunity, Madam, and please be assured of the respectful and devoted feelings of your most humble servant.

CH. GOUNOD

49 rue Pigalle”

And Rachel:

“Sunday

Dear Madame Ugalde,

If you do not know where to spend your evening tomorrow, come to my place. I have some friends of my younger sisters who like to play innocent games. If the Opéra-Comique claims you, I shall be very sorry, for it seems to me that this is the only pretext you can give me if you do not come to see me.

Your friend,

Rachel”

Do not think that there is any irony in Rachel's letter about these "innocent games." Back then we played innocent games, even among actresses, as we played bridge yesterday, as we play puzzles today. It was the fashion. One would be very surprised if

one evoked the "splendors" of the theater life of the past. There is a gently idyllic side to the existence of the most rowdy of yesteryear. And the snobs of today, with automobiles and airplanes, would find frightfully "bourgeois" the receptions of famous actresses from 1846 to 1860.

How did Augustine Brohan, the triumphant Augustine of the Comedie-Francaise, the ideal *soubrette* of Moliere, also the great coquette of certain pieces of the modern repertory, Madame de Lery de Musset, invite Delphine Ugalde to spend an evening?

"Place Vendome, 12.

I know well that it is not an easy thing to have you, but I do not want to wrong myself in not trying to tempt you, dear lady.

If your successes leave you a moment of respite, do not forget this, I beg you: every Wednesday evening, at ten o'clock when I do not play, at midnight when I play, seven or eight of us meet to dance in a lounge as big as a table, we laugh more or less, and we drink tea. Is not it extraordinarily tempting?

But, oh! I should better tell you the truth all at once: you would only do a good deed by giving me the pleasure and pride of your kind presence. It goes without saying that you would be welcome with whom you would like.

A thousand eager compliments.

Brohan."

A weekly dance in a "big as a table" living room, and this is the high life of one of the most famous actresses of her time!

Note, moreover, the tone, familiar but humorous, of these correspondences. Nothing special, without formal formulas, but giving the idea of almost abolished habits. The director of the theater, the future director of the Comédie-Française Emile Perrin, speaks to his pensionnaire with a nuance of affectionate respect.

Mme Ugalde, who then belonged to the Opéra-Comique, was playing in Brussels. Her director had to go and listen to her. He wrote to her on the eve of getting on the road:

“National Theater of the Opéra-Comique
Paris, September 3, 1852.

My dear pensionnaire,

In the uncertainty where I was that the day of your *premiere* was always the one fixed by your sovereign will, I had to, in spite of my advance measures, wait nevertheless for a short note from you to put me on the road. This note only arrived this morning at noon. If you had entrusted it to the rapid wing of one of those traveling doves that Brussels sends to Madrid through the Pyrenees and all the Spanish sierra, perhaps I would have arrived in time; but the train is slow and the post is lazy.

Your charming letter has given me a pleasure and a regret: the pleasure of seeing that you remember a promise that I am careful to forget; the sorrow of receiving your opinion only too late to take advantage of it and not being able to leave in time to attend your first triumph on the Brussels stage.

It is impossible for me now to think of leaving before the premiere of Reber's work. This premiere will take place on Tuesday. Do you want to tell me which days you will perform next week? Once the play is over, I will find in this week two days off that I promised to use to go to applaud Mme Ugalde as we must applaud and as I do not have the right here so to speak.

Believe me, my dear pensionary, that I am united by heart to the applause which will welcome you this evening, and while waiting for a little word from you, receive the expression of the most affectionate sentiments of your most devoted servant.

Emile Perrin.”

Reber's work was *Le Père Gaillard*. Once presented, did Mr. Perrin applaud his pensionnaire in Brussels?

And it is not only her director who chooses her, who spoils her; - it is Persigny, then representing France in London, who writes to her from Albert Gate House that Colonel Phipps warns the ambassador "that the queen has kindly given orders to receive Mme Ugalde." And Queen Victoria would treat the singer as they treat poets - and impresarios.

“Dear Ugalde, (writes the tenor Roger).

Would you be free on the 29th? It would be a matter of going to shout a melodious cry to Blois. Mme Wartel organized a concert and asked for my help.

Can she count on yours?

Blois is small, but not far.

For 500 would you go?

Your old comrade who kisses your hands.

G. Roger

A thousand friendships to your dear Varcollier.”

The author of the Three Musketeers madrigalises by inviting her thus:

“Madame,

You remember the lovely promise you made to me. This is not the one we forget.

Let me kneel to remind you. I am too far away to be very dangerous.

Since I said I was at your knees, I will stay there.

Alex. Dumas”

Arsene Houssaye gives one of those famous redoubts which changed the hotel from the Avenue de Friedland into a Venetian palazzo. He asks Delphine Ugalde to sing:

“Dear Madam,

You must sing Thursday at home under the domino.

La Chanteuse Masquée or unmasked.

You have received your invitation, have you not?

Cordially.

Ars. Houssaye.”

Villemessant, more familiar, wrote to her from Chambon- his property, a moment famous by the lake of which the Figaro director was so proud- asked her to come and sing *Galathée* to Blois:

“The country is full of rumors and you will be received in a beautiful way. I organized a monstrous picnic in the forest of Chambon for the day after the concert. Paris journalists, artists, celebrities, etc. Each guest brings his dish and during our meal we will sound fanfares! ... And

we will have a wild time!”

It is always the familiarity, the good nature, the good mood that characterize this antediluvian era (70 having been a flood of fire). And by all these letters that the admirable and charming woman guarded, how many prove with what liberality the singer in full glory put her talent at the service of the comrades, in the service of the poor. Golden voice with a heart of gold, this was Delphine Ugalde.

For the benefit of I do not know which unfortunate person she played Maritana in *Don César de Bazan* with Frederick-Lemaitre. She repeated the *Rendez-vous Bourgeois* with Henri Monnier. She sang next to Nilsson.

Clarisse Miroy asked for her assistance for a benefit at La Gaîté. Capoul had promised. "With your name, my plans will be assured." (February 3, 1870.)

Marc Fournier, "phlegmy, crotchety, tasty and sickly", apologizes, speaks to her of his evils: "I will not make you the enumeration. You would think to read a piece of Molière." And he also speaks of a profit for the benefit of an artist. Fiorentino, all-powerful then, wants to hear an opera from one of his best friends, M. de Montnoro, to the director of the Opera (or Opera-Comique). "If you wanted to decipher two pieces of great musician that you are, you would be the guardian angel of a very worthy boy and you would very much require the most devoted of your admirers. The thing would happen at Gardoni, where I will try to bring Mr. Perrin. "

In truth, I do not know to whom Mme Ugalde did not - the evidence is there - render service.

It is a life of art, dedication, success, and kindness that this correspondence reveals. Delphine Ugalde was known for her triumphs; we surprise her here in the

intimacy of her friendships. When she played - and with what talent - Roxelane in *Les Trois Sultanes* by Favart at the Variétés, Céleste Mogador, who started there, tells in her *memoires* that Mme Ugalde was compassionate and welcoming to the break of the ball Mabilles and the Hippodrome on the planks.

“We must forgive a lot. Perhaps it is necessary to forgive everything,” said the singer.

It was a time when morality was both less easy and pity less commonplace. "What do you want?" Repeated Scriwaneck, “we had heart! "

There was always a little grisette among the courtesans. All the more so with actresses. In Marguerite Gautier's wardrobe, Mimi Pinson's hat was found. And the truffles of the particular cabinet smelled worse than the chestnuts of the garret.

I would not finish it if I wanted to cite all the admirable testimonials which, doubtless, Madame Ugalde aged re-read as one would reopen sweet notes-the sweet notes of glory.

The great comedian who was Melingue - the ideal d'Artagnan - begged her (and in what terms!) To want to give lessons to her daughter:

“Dear great artist,
Bluntly ...
Do you want to give lessons to Miss Melingue?
Do you want my wife to talk to you about it, present it to you and agree to everything?
Say it out, and our gratitude will equal the admiration we have for your wonderful talent.
Melinque.
19, rue Levert, Belleville-Paris.”

She had for a pupil Marie Sasse, who on the date of July 15, 1859 wrote to her:

“Madame and dear benefactor,

... To be very sincere, I must confess that since your departure, I have not yet been able to study; but please, do not scold me too much. I do not know if these are very hot, but I am always indisposed. My mother was sick too and kept the bed for several days. All these causes together make me look a little lazy.”

Mme Ugalde was in Madrid.

"I expect," said Marie Sasse, "to see you come back with the complexion of a true Andalusian."

On January 7, 1862, the tragic actress Agar apologizes for not being able to attend a party given by the singer on Thursday. "I start Friday, January 10 at a quarter past seven. If you do not play, I'm counting on you to come help me pass this step. I have been sick since yesterday that I know the news." Mme Ugalde had applauded her in her studies. She had encouraged her as she had encouraged so many others.

And musician, and whose music was applauded on the stage or in the living rooms, she sometimes wanted to play comedy. She learned one day that Albert Glatigny, the wandering poet, was sick. She wanted to play *Bois* on the small stage of Bouffes-Parisiens from which she took the direction. But it was repeated at the Odeon. So she asked Glatigny to write for her a comic opera libretto. The poet died before doing it.

Delphine Ugalde was no longer singing. But others sang her melodies. She dedicated one to Montaubry, "Les Printemps," and the tenor, who was like herself, thanked her: "But alas! I now sing only to demonstrate to others the principles of an art in which you have had no rivals. " (January 30, 1898.)

To Gabrielle Krauss, she sends the dedication of her *mélodie* "Piéta." And the great Pauline Viardot, the interpreter of Gluck, and acknowledges receipt of a piece to the interpreter Massé and Offenbach:

“December 11, 1876.

My dear Madame Ugalde,

You cannot doubt the great pleasure with which I accept the dedication of your beautiful *mélodie* “l’Ange des douleurs.” My regret is that this was not inspired in the days when we were comrades. I would have been happy to rise to the heights of the painter, the poet, and the composer. I ask you to accept, with all my compliments, the expression of my gratitude and of my affection.

Pauline Viardot”

Ah! All these notes read, re-read, moved, all this contrasted existence, so brilliant, so brilliant, and so melancholy too!

This is all that remains of us after us: slips of paper, half-erased slips; words, words, words!

She re-read them, these words, some of which reminded her of names now engraved on gray stones. Where were the snows of yesteryear? Where the hours of complete sovereignty which made a charming man, Louis Huart, premiering on the Boulevard du Temple, at the Théâtre des Folies-Nouvelles (now the Déjazet theater), regard as a good fortune the appearance of Madame Ugalde, where fashion was then (O candid times!) to take absinthe while watching Paul Legrand play pantomimes?

“Tuesday
Madame,

Here is a box for Wednesday's performance. We sincerely thank you, *Pierrot* and I, for the honor you have shown us in kindly visiting us.

I will stand at the entrance of the theater with a torch of ten branches to escort you to your box, and in an interlude I will bring you a stick of barley sugar, - the barley sugar is still one of the great distractions of our establishment.

Accept, Madam, my most eager and friendly compliments, if I dare say so.

L. Huart.”

And the next day, the happy Lambert Thiboust invited the singer:

“Permit me, dear lady, to offer you this box for tonight's Varieties.
May the *Enfants de troupe* and the *Enfants terribles* present a pleasant
evening to Camille, to Virginie, to Galathée!

The first of your enthusiasts,
Lambert Thiboust”

Or the glorious moment of this note from Marie Pleyel: "You have been
admirable and adorable. I would write much longer if my hands were not broken by
applause."

And in this pile of precious letters, with Henri Rochefort's autograph asking for a
box to applaud Josephine and Anaïs Ségalas sending enthusiastic verses dedicated to "La
Fauvette," I find - as an ironic postscript to all these warm missives - the letter of thanks
from a provincial critic, who no doubt dies today, who thanks the great artist in a
strangely moving way:

“Great artist and excellent woman,

You will receive at the same time as this letter the last lines of the
*** on your closing performance and on your departure. I wish it were
better; for when it comes to you, nothing is beautiful enough, nothing can
be perfect enough; but you are indulgent, and that reassures me to obtain
grace from your mind so sweet and so good.

Since your departure I talk about you each day with two or three
very close friends who admire you as much as I do. We speak a lot about
your talent, but we speak more about your charming and beautiful heart.
Oh! Believe me, madame, if you had only talent, I would have done you
justice without exceeding the limits of my duty. A visit of convenience
would have sufficed me, and I would have contented myself with admiring
you at a distance; but with the woman of genius (I underline by design), I
found the woman of heart, and then I approached you to immerse myself
in your good nature and to tell you with happiness all that I thought of you.
Perhaps in these repeated visits, I have unintentionally been unwelcome
and indiscreet; but what do you want? I was under the spell of your word,
and that is my excuse. And then you told me about my mother, ma'am; so
how could I have gone away and not see you again?

I remember that Sunday when, taking off a little ring you used to

wear, you told me with an accent that I will never forget:

"Give this on my behalf to your mother."

Here, when I think of that, I can not defend myself from a very lively emotion, and my eyes fill with tears. Did I avenge you, madame? That day you made me love my profession as a journalist and your inspired delicacy compensated me in an instant for all the disappointments, all the ingratitude I encountered in my career for twenty years. Once again, Madam, receive the expression of my thanks and my eternal gratitude. You have been good to my mother, I admire you and I bless you from the bottom of my heart!

PS: Give our dear little baby a pat for me."

I like to believe that the mother of the critic has piously preserved the ring of Delphine Ugalde. And the prose of this sentimental journalist completes the collection of autographs that the singer liked to re-read. She loved her daughter Marguerite and her granddaughter quite a lot- both of whom continued with the acclaimed name of Ugalde- to understand the joy of the gazetteer bringing this ring to his mother.

"It's for my mother, she'll keep it!"

And this proof of the goodness of the artist adds an unexpected note, touching or ironic, as one might like, to all those memories of the admirable singer, generous, valiant, witty, devoted, and who, when, already almost eighty years old, she spoke to me of this vanished past, made me involuntarily think with a respectful melancholy of the *Petites Vieilles* sung by Charles Baudelaire, to the fairies and the enchantresses of our youth, who were wrinkled and curved.

"You who were gracious or who were glorious. . ."

Jules Claretie

APPENDIX B

A PARTIAL TRANSCRIPTION OF UGALDE'S CORRESPONDENCE

WITH ARTHUR POUGIN

Correspondence de Mme Ugalde. Collection Pougin, Arthur. Bibliothèque

Nationale de France, Item #6:

Donc au mois de septembre j'y compte absolument, cher monsieur.

J'ai eu ce moment un petit espoir pour le placement de nos fils. Obligez moi de me faire remettre le manuscrit que je vous ai confié. Il est à craindre que vous n'ayez pas en le temps d'y jeter seul coup d'oeil, même furtif, cedependent, j'aurais bien désiré savoir si vous poussez qu'avec pas mal de changements, ou arriverait a enedre la pièce viable.

Si rien ne se termine sous le présent, nous reprendrons notre projet à votre premier repos.

Je vous remercie de toutes les bonnes raisons que vous avez pris le temps de mi si bien d'étailer et que je suis forcée de comprendre sans toute fois vous plaindre sérieusement d'être si occupé.

A qui la fusette, si ce n'est i votre mérite.

Reprenez donc des forces dans ce voyage si attrigant de perspective et, surtout, envenez-nous à l'heure dite.

Tous mes sentiments de bonne amité

de Ugalde

APPENDIX C

DMA RECITAL PROGRAMS

University of South Carolina

School of Music
presents

Michael T. Brown, tenor
Sharon Rattray, piano

in

Doctoral Voice Recital
October 1, 2015, 6:00PM

“Panis Angelicus” *from Mass in A Major*

Cèsar Franck (1822-1890)

“Deposuit Potentes” *from Magnificat*

J.S. Bach (1685-1750)

“Au pays ou se fait la guerre”

Henri Duparc (1848-1933)

“Extase”

“Le manoir de Rosemonde”

Dichterliebe Op. 48

Robert Schumann (1810-1856)

Mr. Brown is a student of Jacob Will.

This Recital is given in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Musical Arts degree.

University of South Carolina
School of Music
presents

Michael T. Brown, tenor
Sharon Rattray, piano

in

Doctoral Voice Recital
April 21, 2016, 4:30PM

“If music be the food of love” (Third Version) Henry Purcell (1659-1695)
“Pious Celinda”
“On the brow of Richmond Hill”
“I’ll sail upon the dog-star”

“Ah, mai non cessate” Stefano Donaudy (1879-1925)
“No, non mi guardate”
“Oh bei nidi d’amore”
“Or che le rédole”
“Dormendo stai”

“La fleur que tu m’avais jetée” *from Carmen* Georges Bizet (1838-1875)

Banalities Francis Poulenc (1899-1963)
1. Chanson d’Orkenise
2. Hotel
3. Fagnes de Wallonie
4. Voyage a Paris
5. Sanglots

Minicabs William Bolcom (b. 1938)
1. I feel good
2. People change
3. Those
4. Food Song #1
5. Food Song #2
6. I will never forgive you
7. Songette
8. Not even a haiku
9. Maxim #1
10. Maxim #2
11. Anyone

12. Finale: Mystery of the song

“Caro Elisir, sei mio. . .”

Gaetano Donizetti (1797-1848)

Act I, Scenes vii-viii *from L'elisir d'amore*

With Maria Beery, Soprano

Mr. Brown is a student of Jacob Will.

This Recital is given in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Musical Arts degree.

University of South Carolina
School of Music
Opera at USC
Presents

Later the Same Evening

by John Musto

February 24, 2017, 7:30PM

February 25, 2017, 7:30PM

February 26, 2017, 3:00PM

Role: Jimmy O'Keefe

This Opera Role is performed in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Musical Arts degree.

University of South Carolina
School of Music
presents

Michael T. Brown, tenor
Sharon Rattray, piano

in

Doctoral Voice Recital
September 29, 2017, 6:00PM

“Tantum Ergo”
“Le Printemps”
“Roses de mai”
“Zuleika”
Delphine Ugalde (1829-1910)

“Отчего, скажи”
“Ива”
“Не пой, красавица”
“Тихо вечер догорает”
“Ветка Палестины”
Pauline Viardot-Garcia (1821-1910)

Vier Lieder
1. “Licht in der Nacht”
2. “Waldseligkeit”
3. “Ansturm”
4. “Erntelied”
Alma Mahler (1879-1964)

“Marche Gauloise”
“La Guerrière”
“Sérénade d’Automne”
“Sérénade de Toujours”
Augusta Holmès (1847-1903)

*Mr. Brown is a student of Jacob Will.
This Recital is given in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Doctor of Musical Arts
degree.*